

## INTRODUCTION

THE wealthier citizens of Athens were required by law to bear the expense of public services known as "liturgies."<sup>a</sup> One of these was the "trierarchy"—that of fitting out a ship of war. Anyone allotted to such a duty might challenge another to accept the alternative of either undertaking this burden in his stead or of exchanging property with him. Such a challenge was called an "antidosis." If the challenged party objected, the issue was adjudicated by a court.

It seems clear that Isocrates had undergone such a trial and had been condemned to undertake a trierarchy. The plaintiff had probably prejudiced the case by misrepresenting Isocrates' wealth, his character, and the influence of his teaching. What Isocrates' defence was we do not know, but it seems likely that he did not take the trial very seriously until the unfavourable verdict opened his eyes to the fact that he was generally misunderstood. Then he conceived the idea of dissipating this prejudice against him by publishing in the form of a defence in court "a true image of his thought and of his whole life."

At any rate, in the *Antidosis*—a title which he borrows from the actual suit to which he had just

<sup>a</sup> See § 145 and note.



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been subjected—he adopts the fiction of a capital charge brought against him by an informer, named Lysimachus, and of a trial before a court with its accessories.<sup>a</sup> The fictitious charge is, roughly, that he is guilty of corrupting his pupils by teaching them to make the worse reason appear the better and so to win their advantage contrary to justice,<sup>b</sup> which is the stock complaint against the sophists, and the one which was pressed against Socrates. Indeed, it is clear that Isocrates had the latter's trial in mind and that he studiously echoes the defence of Socrates as it is recorded by Plato in the *Apology*.<sup>c</sup>

The defence of Isocrates is, however, more discursive than that of Socrates or, indeed, than any defence appropriate to an actual trial, as he himself points out.<sup>d</sup> It is, on the negative side, a sharp attack upon the Athenian populace for confusing him with the other sophists and for allowing demagogic politicians to use against him the general prejudice which had accumulated against the sophists as a class; and it is, at the same time, a criticism—not too gracious—of the narrowness or the impracticableness of the teaching of his rivals and of their failure to appreciate at its full value the broad and useful culture for which he himself stood. On its positive side, it is a definition and, to a certain extent, an exposition of the culture or “philosophy”<sup>e</sup> which Isocrates professed. In this respect,

<sup>a</sup> See Bonner, “The Legal Setting of Isocrates' *Antidosis*,” *Classical Philology* xv. p. 193.

<sup>b</sup> See § 15, § 30, § 56.

<sup>c</sup> See General Introd. p. xvii, Vol. I., L.C.L.

<sup>d</sup> § 10.

<sup>e</sup> See General Introd. p. xxvi.



## ANTIDOSIS

it should be read in connexion with his earlier discourse, *Against the Sophists*.<sup>a</sup>

It was written, as he tells us,<sup>b</sup> when he was eighty-two years old—354–353 B.C. He apologizes for its lack of vigour, due to his age, but it is, in fact, no less forceful than, for example, his diatribe *Against the Sophists*, published thirty-five years before, though it does not show the same attention to the refinements of style.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See General Introd. pp. xx ff.

<sup>b</sup> § 9.

<sup>c</sup> § 195.



## ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΤΙΔΟΣΕΩΣ

[310] Εἰ μὲν ὅμοιος ἦν ὁ λόγος ὁ μέλλων ἀναγνωσθή-  
σεσθαι τοῖς ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἢ πρὸς τὰς ἐπι-  
δείξεις γιγνομένοις, οὐδὲν ἂν οἶμαι προδιαλεχθῆ-  
ναι περὶ αὐτοῦ· νῦν δὲ διὰ τὴν καινότητα καὶ τὴν  
διαφορὰν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι προειπεῖν τὰς αἰτίας, δι'  
ἃς οὕτως ἀνόμοιον αὐτὸν ὄντα τοῖς ἄλλοις γράφειν  
προειλόμην· μὴ γὰρ τούτων δηλωθισῶν πολλοῖς  
ἂν ἴσως ἄτοπος εἶναι δόξειεν.

2 Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰδὼς ἐνίους τῶν σοφιστῶν βλα-  
σφημοῦντας περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς διατριβῆς, καὶ λέγοντας  
ὡς ἐστι περὶ δικογραφίαν, καὶ παραπλήσιον  
ποιοῦντας ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις Φειδίαν τὸν τὸ τῆς  
Ἀθηνᾶς ἔδος ἐργασάμενον τολμῶη καλεῖν κορο-  
πλάθον, ἢ Ζεῦξιν καὶ Παρράσιον τὴν αὐτὴν  
ἔχειν φαίη τέχνην τοῖς τὰ πινάκια γράφουσιν,  
ὅμως οὐδὲ πώποτε τὴν μικρολογίαν ταύτην

• Cf. *Phil.* 1.

• See General Introd. p. xxxi.

• Like the *Encomium on Helen*. See General Introd. p. xxxi, and Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*.

<sup>a</sup> The term "sophist" is used loosely throughout the discourse, sometimes as the equivalent of wise man, but more often, as here, of a professional teacher of philosophy and oratory. See General Introd. p. xii, note a.

• See General Introd. p. xx, and note c.



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If the discourse which is now about to be read <sup>a</sup> had been like the speeches which are produced either for the law-courts <sup>b</sup> or for oratorical display, <sup>c</sup> I should not, I suppose, have prefaced it by any explanation. Since, however, it is novel and different in character, it is necessary to begin by setting forth the reasons why I chose to write a discourse so unlike any other; for if I neglected to make this clear, my speech would, no doubt, impress many as curious and strange.

The fact is that, although I have known that some of the sophists <sup>d</sup> traduce my occupation, saying that it has to do with writing speeches for the courts, <sup>e</sup> very much as one might have the effrontery to call Pheidias, who wrought our statue of Athena, <sup>f</sup> a doll-maker, or say that Zeuxis and Parrhasius <sup>g</sup> practised the same art as the sign-painters, <sup>h</sup> nevertheless I have never deigned to defend myself against their

<sup>f</sup> The "gold and ivory" statue of Athena which stood in the Parthenon.

<sup>g</sup> Zeuxis and Parrhasius sojourned in Athens about 400 B.C.

<sup>h</sup> Literally, painters of votive tablets set up in temples as thank-offerings for deliverance from sickness or from dangers on the sea. Cf. Tibullus, i. 3. 27-28:

nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi, nam posse mederi  
picta docet templis multa tabella tuis.



3 ἡμυνάμην αὐτῶν, ἡγούμενος τὰς μὲν ἐκείνων φλυαρίας οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν ἔχειν, αὐτὸς δὲ πᾶσι τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι φανερόν, ὅτι προήρημαι καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν οὐ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἄλλος ἐπιχειρήσειε, πλὴν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπλησιακότων ἢ τῶν τούτους μιμεῖσθαι βουλομένων.

4 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν πόρρῳ τῆς ἡλικίας ὥομην καὶ διὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν ταύτην καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἀπραγμοσύνην ἐπιεικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἰδιώτας· ἥδη δ' ὑπογυίου μοι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς οὔσης, ἀντιδόσεως γενομένης περὶ τριηραρχίας καὶ περὶ [311] ταύτης ἀγῶνος ἔγνων καὶ τούτων τινὰς οὐχ οὕτω πρὸς με διακειμένους ὥσπερ ἠλπίζον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πολὺ διεψευσμένους τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ ῥέποντας ἐπὶ τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἀνεπιτήδειόν τι λέγουσι, τοὺς δὲ σαφῶς μὲν εἰδότας περὶ αὐτῆς τυγχάνω διατρίβων, φθονοῦντας δὲ καὶ ταῦτόν πεπονθότας τοῖς σοφισταῖς καὶ χαίροντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ψευδῇ περί μου δόξαν ἔχουσιν. ἐδήλωσαν δ' οὕτω διακείμενοι· τοῦ γὰρ ἀντιδίκου περὶ μὲν ὧν ἡ κρίσις ἦν οὐδὲν λέγοντος δίκαιον, διαβάλλοντος δὲ τὴν τῶν λόγων τῶν ἐμῶν δύναμιν καὶ καταλαζονενομένου περί τε τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν μαθητῶν, ἔγνωσαν ἐμὴν εἶναι τὴν λειτουργίαν.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν δαπάνην οὕτως ἡνέγκαμεν, ὥσπερ προσήκει τοὺς μήτε λίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐκ-

<sup>a</sup> The kind of oratory to which Isocrates devoted himself. See General Introd. p. xxiv.

<sup>b</sup> See General Introd. p. xviii.



attempts to belittle me, because I considered that their foolish babble had no influence whatever and that I had, myself, made it manifest to all that I had elected to speak and write, not on petty disputes, but on subjects so important and so elevated<sup>a</sup> that no one would attempt them except those who had studied with me, and their would-be imitators.

Indeed, I had always thought, until well on in years, that, owing to this choice and to my retired life in general,<sup>b</sup> I stood fairly well in the opinion of all the lay public. Then when my career was near its close, having been challenged to an exchange of property on the question of a trierarchy, and subjected to a trial on that issue, I came to realize that even outside of my profession there were those who were not disposed towards me as I had thought; nay, that some had been absolutely misled as to my pursuits and were inclined to listen to my detractors, while others, who were well aware of the nature of my work, were envious, feeling the same towards me as do the sophists, and rejoiced to see people hold false opinions of my character. They betrayed their sentiments at the trial; for, although my opponent made no argument whatever on the merits of the case, and did nothing but decry my "cleverness" of speech<sup>c</sup> and indulge in extravagant nonsense about my wealth and the number of my pupils, they imposed the trierarchy upon me.

Now, I bore that expense in such a manner as is becoming to those who are neither too much upset

<sup>a</sup> It was a favourite device in the Athenian Courts to warn the jury against the adversary as *δεινὸς λέγειν*. Cf. Plato, *Apology* 17 B.



- ταραττομένους μήτε παντάπασιν ἀσώτως μηδ' ὀλιγώρως πρὸς χρήματα διακειμένους· ἡσθημένος δ' ὥσπερ εἶπον πλείους ὄντας ὧν ὥομην τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς περί μου γινώσκοντας, ἐνεθυμούμην πῶς ἂν δηλώσαιμι καὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὃν ἔχω καὶ τὸν βίον ὃν ζῶ καὶ τὴν παιδείαν περὶ ἣν διατρίβω, καὶ μὴ περιίδοιμι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἄκριτον ἑμαυτὸν ὄντα, μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς βλασφημεῖν εἰθισμένοις ὥσπερ νῦν γεγνημένον.
- 7 σκοπούμενος οὖν εὗρισκον οὐδαμῶς ἂν ἄλλως τοῦτο διαπραξόμενος, πλὴν εἰ γραφείη λόγος ὥσπερ εἰκὼν τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐμοὶ βεβιωμένων· διὰ τούτου γὰρ ἤλπιζον καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐμέ μάλιστα γνωσθήσεσθαι, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον μνημεῖόν μου καταλειφθήσεσθαι πολὺ κάλλιον τῶν χαλκῶν ἀναθημάτων.
- 8 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινεῖν ἑμαυτὸν ἐπιχειροίην, ἐώρων οὔτε περιλαβεῖν ἅπαντα περὶ ὧν διελθεῖν προηρούμην οἷός τε γενησόμενος, οὔτ' ἐπιχαρίτως οὐδ' ἀνεπιφθόνως εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν δυνησόμενος· εἰ δ' ὑποθείμην ἀγῶνα μὲν καὶ κίνδυνόν τινα περὶ ἐμέ γιγνόμενον, συκοφάντην δ' ὄντα τὸν γεγραμμένον καὶ τὸν πράγματά μοι παρέχοντα, κακείνον μὲν ταῖς διαβολαῖς χρώμενον ταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ῥηθείσαις, ἑμαυτὸν δ' ἐν ἀπολογίας σχήματι τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενον, οὕτως ἂν ἐκγενέσθαι μοι

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Horace, *Odes* iii. 30. 1: monumentum aere perennius. Cf. *Evag.* 73 ff. A bronze statue was erected to Isocrates by his pupil Timotheus. See General Introd. p. xxix.

<sup>b</sup> For the sycophants see *Peace* 128, note.



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by such things nor altogether reckless or even careless about money. But when my eyes were opened, as I have said, to the fact that a greater number than I supposed had mistaken ideas about me, I began to ponder how I could show to them and to posterity the truth about my character, my life, and the education to which I am devoted, and not suffer myself to be condemned on these issues without a trial nor to remain, as I had just been, at the mercy of my habitual calumniators. And as I kept thinking upon it, I came ever to the same conclusion, namely, that the only way in which I could accomplish this was to compose a discourse which would be, as it were, a true image of my thought and of my whole life; for I hoped that this would serve both as the best means of making known the truth about me and, at the same time, as a monument, after my death, more noble than statues of bronze.<sup>a</sup>

I saw, however, that if I were to attempt a eulogy of myself, I should not be able to cover all the points which I proposed to discuss, nor should I succeed in treating them without arousing the displeasure or even the envy of my hearers. But it occurred to me that if I were to adopt the fiction of a trial and of a suit brought against me—if I were to suppose that a sycophant<sup>b</sup> had brought an indictment and was threatening me with trouble<sup>c</sup> and that he was using the calumnies which had been urged against me in the suit about the exchange of property, while I, for my part, cast my speech in the form of a defence in court—in this way it would

<sup>a</sup> "To make trouble"—πράγματα παρέχειν—was the common phrase for the persecution of the sycophants. Cf. 15.



[312] μάλιστα διαλεχθῆναι περὶ πάντων ὧν τυγχάνω βουλόμενος.

- 9 Ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς ἔγραφον τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, οὐκ ἀκμάζων, ἀλλ' ἔτη γεγονώς δύο καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. διόπερ χρὴ συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἣν μαλακώτερος ὧν φαίνεται τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ πρότερον ἐκδεδομένων. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ῥάδιος ἦν οὐδ' ἀπλοῦς, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν
- 10 ἔχων πραγματείαν. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἔνια μὲν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ πρέποντα ῥηθῆναι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τοιούτους ἀγῶνας οὐχ ἀρμόττοντα, περὶ δὲ φιλοσοφίας πεπαρρησιασμένα καὶ δεδογκότα τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς· ἔστι δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ὃ τῶν νεωτέρων τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ μαθήματα καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ὀρμῶσιν ἀκούσασιν ἂν συνενέγκοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάλαι γεγραμμένων ἐγκαταμιγμένα τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀκαίρως, ἀλλὰ προσηκόντως τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις.
- 11 Τοσοῦτον οὖν μῆκος λόγου συνιδεῖν, καὶ τοσαύτας ἰδέας καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων ἀφεστῶσας συναρμόσαι καὶ συναγαγεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας οἰκειῶσαι ταῖς προειρημέναις, καὶ πάσας ποιῆσαι σφίσιν αὐταῖς ὁμολογουμένας, οὐ πάνυ μικρὸν ἦν ἔργον. ὅμως δ' οὐκ ἀπέστην, καίπερ τηλικούτος ὢν, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἀπετέλεσα, μετὰ πολλῆς μὲν ἀληθείας εἰρημένον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τοιοῦτον οἷος ἂν εἶναι
- 12 δόξῃ τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς διεξιόντας αὐτὸν πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ὄντος μικτοῦ τοῦ λόγου καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ὑποθέσεις ταύτας γεγραμμένου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀκρόασιν, ἔπειτα προσέχειν τὸν

• For this apology cf. *Phil.* 149 ; *Panath.* 4 ; *Epist.* vi. 6.



be possible to discuss to the best advantage all the points which I wanted to make.

With these thoughts in mind I set myself to write this discourse—I who am no longer in the prime of youth but in my eighty-second year. Wherefore, you may well forgive me if my speech appears to be less vigorous<sup>a</sup> than those which I have published in the past. For, I assure you, it has not been an easy nor a simple task, but one of great difficulty; for while some things in my discourse are appropriate to be spoken in a court-room, others are out of place amid such controversies, being frank discussions about philosophy and expositions of its power. There is in it, also, matter which it would be well for young men to hear before they set out to gain knowledge and an education; and there is much, besides, of what I have written in the past, inserted in the present discussion, not without reason nor without fitness, but with due appropriateness to the subject in hand.

Now to view as a whole so great an extent of subject matter, to harmonize and bring together so many diverse varieties of discourse, to connect smoothly what follows with what goes before, and to make all parts consonant one with another, was by no means an easy undertaking. Yet I did not desist, in spite of my age, until I had accomplished it, such as it is. It is, at any rate, written with devotion to the truth; its other qualities I leave to the judgement of my hearers. But I urge all who intend to acquaint themselves with my speech, first, to make allowance, as they listen to it, for the fact that it is a mixed discourse, composed with an eye to all these subjects; next, to fix their attention



νοῦν ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῖς λέγεσθαι μέλλουσιν ἢ τοῖς ἤδη προειρημένοις, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μὴ ζητεῖν εὐθὺς ἐπελθόντας ὅλον αὐτὸν διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον μέρος ὅσον μὴ λυπήσει τοὺς παρόντας. εἰ γὰρ ἐμμεΐνητε τούτοις, μᾶλλον δυνήσεσθε κατιδεῖν εἴ τι τυγχάνομεν λέγοντες ἄξιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν.

13 "Α μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν προειπεῖν, ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἤδη δ' ἀναγιγνώσκετε τὴν ἀπολογία τὴν προσποιουμένην μὲν περὶ κρίσεως γεγράφθαι, βουλομένην δὲ περὶ ἐμοῦ δηλώσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοοῦντας εἰδέναί ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ [313] φθονοῦντας ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ταύτης λυπεῖσθαι· μείζω γὰρ δίκην οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν.

14 Πάντων ἡγοῦμαι πονηροτάτους εἶναι καὶ μεγίστης ζημίας ἀξίους, οἵτινες οἷς αὐτοὶ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες ἔνοχοι, ταῦτα τῶν ἄλλων τολμῶσι κατηγορεῖν· ὅπερ Λυσίμαχος πεποίηκεν. οὗτος γὰρ αὐτὸς συγγεγραμμένα λέγων περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν συγγραμμάτων πλείω πεποίηται λόγον ἢ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅμοιον ἐργαζόμενος ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἱεροσυλίας ἕτερον διώκων αὐτὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐν

15 τοῖν χεροῖν ἔχων φανείη. πρὸ πολλοῦ δ' ἂν ἐποιησάμην οὕτως αὐτὸν νομίζειν εἶναί με δεινόν, ὥσπερ ἐν ὑμῖν εἶρηκεν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτέ μοι πράγματα ποιεῖν ἐπεχείρησε. νῦν δὲ λέγει μὲν ὡς ἐγὼ τοὺς ἡττοὺς λόγους κρείττους δύναμαι ποιεῖν, τοσοῦτον δέ μου καταπεφρόνηκεν, ὥστε αὐτὸς

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Panath.* Isocrates, though writing for a reading public, habitually uses the language of a discourse to be delivered. See General Introd. p. xxx.

<sup>b</sup> The stock charge against rhetoric and oratory from  
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even more on what is about to be said than on what has been said before ; and, lastly, not to seek to run through the whole of it at the first sitting, but only so much of it as will not fatigue the audience.<sup>a</sup> For if you comply with this advice, you will be better able to determine whether I speak in a manner worthy of my reputation.

These, then, are the things which it was necessary for me to say by way of introduction. I beg you now to listen to my defence, which purports to have been written for a trial, but whose real purpose is to show the truth about myself, to make those who are ignorant about me know the sort of man I am and those who are afflicted with envy suffer a still more painful attack of this malady ; for a greater revenge upon them than this I could not hope to obtain.

I consider that in all the world there are none so depraved and so deserving of the severest punishment as those who have the audacity to charge others with the offences of which they themselves are guilty. And this is the very thing that Lysimachus has done. For this informer, himself delivering a composed speech, has said more in complaint of my compositions than upon all other points ; it is as if one were to charge another with breaking into a temple, while showing in his own hands plunder stolen from the gods. I would give much if he really thought that I am as "clever" as he has made me out to be to you, for then he would never have tried to trouble me. But now, although he alleges that I am able to make the weaker cause appear the stronger,<sup>b</sup> he has, in fact, so low an opinion of

Corax and Tisias down. Cf. Plato, *Apology* 19 B ; Aristophanes, *Clouds* 874 ff.



16 ψευδόμενος ἐμοῦ τάληθῇ λέγοντος ἐλπίζει ῥαδίως ἐπικρατήσκειν. οὕτω δέ μοι δυσκόλως ἅπαντα συμβέβηκεν, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τοῖς λόγοις διαλύονται τὰς διαβολάς, ἐμοῦ δὲ Λυσίμαχος αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους μάλιστα διαβέβληκεν, ἵν' ἦν μὲν ἱκανῶς δόξω λέγειν, ἔνοχος ὢν φανῶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τούτου περὶ τῆς δεινότητος τῆς ἐμῆς προειρημένοις, ἦν δ' ἐνδεέστερον τύχῳ διαλεχθεὶς ὢν οὗτος ὑμᾶς προσδοκᾶν πεποίηκε, τὰς πράξεις ἡγῆσθέ μου χείρους εἶναι.

17 Δέομαι οὖν ὑμῶν μήτε πιστεύειν πῶ μήτ' ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς εἰρημένοις, πρὶν ἂν διὰ τέλους ἀκούσητε καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει δίδοσθαι τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἀπολογία, εἴπερ οἰόντ' ἦν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ διώκοντος λόγων ἐψηφίσθαι τὰ δίκαια. νῦν δ' εἰ μὲν εὖ τυγχάνει κατηγορηκῶς ἢ κακῶς, οὐδεὶς ἂν τῶν παρόντων ἀγνοήσειεν· εἰ δ' ἀληθέσι κέχρηται τοῖς λόγοις, οὐκέτι τοῦτο τοῖς κρίνουσι γνῶναι ῥάδιον ἐξ ὧν ὁ πρότερος εἶρηκεν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν ἦν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν λόγων ἐκλαβεῖν δυνηθῶσι τὸ δίκαιον.

18 Οὐ θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν πλείω χρόνον διατριβόντων ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐξαπατώντων κατηγορίαις ἢ ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογίαις, οὐδὲ τῶν λεγόντων ὡς ἔστι μέγιστον κακὸν διαβολή· τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο [314] ταύτης κακουργότερον, ἢ ποιεῖ τοὺς μὲν ψευδομένους εὐδοκιμεῖν, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας δοκεῖν ἀδικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ δικάζοντας ἐπιорκεῖν, ὅλως δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀλήθειαν ἀφανίζει, ψευδῇ δὲ



my powers that he is confident that he with his lies will win against me and the truth. And so maliciously has everything conspired against me, that while others may depend on their power of speech to make an end of calumnies, it is, in my case, just this power of speech which Lysimachus has most calumniated, in order that if I shall appear to speak well, I may show that I am subject to the charges which he has made about my cleverness ; while if it turns out that I speak less ably than he has led you to expect, you may think that mine is the weaker cause.

I beg you, then, neither to credit nor to discredit what has been said to you until you have heard to the end what I also have to say, bearing it in mind that there would have been no need of granting to the accused the right of making a defence, had it been possible to reach a just verdict from the arguments of the accuser. At this stage of the case no one here present is in any doubt whether the accuser has spoken well or badly, but it is not yet easy for the jury to decide from what the first speaker has said whether he has based his arguments on the truth ; nay, they will be fortunate if they are able to draw a just conclusion from the arguments of both sides.

I do not wonder that men spend more time in denouncing those who attempt to deceive the jury than upon their own defence, nor that they complain that calumny is our greatest bane. What, indeed, could work greater mischief ? It causes liars to be looked on with respect, innocent men to be regarded as criminals, and judges to violate their oaths ; in a word, it smothers truth, and pouring false ideas



19 δόξαν παραστήσασα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὃν ἂν τύχη  
 τῶν πολιτῶν ἀδίκως ἀπόλλυσιν; ἃ φυλακτέον  
 ἐστίν, ὅπως μηδὲν ὑμῖν συμβήσεται τοιοῦτον, μηδ'  
 ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἂν ἐπιτιμήσαιτε τούτοις αὐτοὶ φανή-  
 σεσθε περιπίπτοντες. οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν  
 ὅτι τῇ πόλει πολλάκις οὕτως ἤδη μετεμέλησε τῶν  
 κρίσεων τῶν μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ μὴ μετ' ἐλέγχου  
 γενομένων, ὥστ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον διαλιποῦσα παρὰ  
 μὲν τῶν ἐξαπατησάντων δίκην λαβεῖν ἐπεθύμησε,  
 τοὺς δὲ διαβληθέντας ἡδέως ἂν εἶδεν ἄμεινον ἢ  
 πρότερον πράττοντας.

20 Ὡν χρὴ μεμνημένους μὴ προπετῶς πιστεύειν  
 τοῖς τῶν κατηγορῶν λόγοις, μηδὲ μετὰ θορύβου  
 καὶ χαλεπότητος ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν ἀπολογουμένων.  
 καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων  
 ἐλεημονεστάτους ὁμολογεῖσθαι καὶ πραοτάτους  
 ἀπάντων εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀγῶσι  
 τοῖς ἐνθάδε γιγνομένοις τὰναντία τῇ δόξῃ ταύτῃ  
 21 φαίνεσθαι πράττοντας· καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις μὲν  
 ἐπειδὰν περὶ ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπου δικάζωσι, μέρος  
 τι τῶν ψήφων ὑποβάλλεσθαι τοῖς φεύγουσι, παρ'  
 ὑμῖν δὲ μηδὲ τῶν ἴσων τυγχάνειν τοὺς κινδυ-  
 νεύοντας τοῖς συκοφαντοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὁμνύναι μὲν

<sup>a</sup> The outstanding instance is the decree passed by the General Assembly, condemning to death without due process of law, the Athenian generals who were in command at the battle of Arginusae. After the execution of the sentence, the people repented of their haste and called to account the leading instigators of this irregular procedure. See Xen. *Hell.* i. 7. 35; Plato, *Apology* 32; Grote, *History* vol. vii. pp. 446-447.

<sup>b</sup> Athenian juries not infrequently made noisy demonstrations of their prejudices. See Plato, *Apology* 30 c; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 624.



into our ears, it leaves no man among our citizens secure from an unjust death. You must be on your guard against this and take care that nothing of the sort happens in this case and that you are not yourselves seen to fall into the very faults which you find reprehensible in others. I think you know well enough that time and again in the past Athens has so deeply repented<sup>a</sup> the judgements which have been pronounced in passion and without proof that not long after the events she has become eager to punish her deceivers, and would gladly have seen the victims of calumny in happier circumstances than before.

You should remember this and not trust too hastily the assertions of the accuser nor hear the defendant in uproar and anger.<sup>b</sup> Ours is a shameful state of inconsistency; for while it is acknowledged that in our life in general we are the most merciful<sup>c</sup> and gentle of all the Hellenes, yet in the conduct of our trials here we manifestly give the lie to this reputation. In other states, when they try a man for his life, they cast a portion of the votes for the defendant,<sup>d</sup> but with us the accused has not even an equal chance with the sycophants;<sup>e</sup> nay, while

<sup>a</sup> The Athenians appear to have worshipped "Ελεος, Goddess of Pity. See Schol. to Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 261.

<sup>d</sup> The reference seems to be to some custom somewhere by which in capital cases a number of the votes of the jury were at the outset of the trial given by grace to the defendant. No such custom is, so far as I know, mentioned anywhere else.

<sup>e</sup> Isocrates, like Socrates (Plato, *Apology* 37 A-B), complains that defendants on a capital charge in other states were given a better chance.



- καθ' ἑκάστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ μὴν ὁμοίως ἀκροά-  
 σεσθαι τῶν κατηγορούντων καὶ τῶν ἀπολογου-  
 22 μένων, τοσοῦτον δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ ποιεῖν, ὥστε τῶν  
 μὲν αἰτιωμένων ὃ τι ἂν λέγωσιν ἀποδέχεσθαι,  
 τῶν δὲ τούτους ἐξελέγχειν πειρωμένων ἐνίοτε  
 μηδὲ τὴν φωνὴν ἀκούοντας ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν  
 μὲν ἀοικήτους εἶναι ταύτας τῶν πόλεων ἐν αἷς  
 ἄκριτοί τινες ἀπόλλυνται τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀγνοεῖν δ'  
 ὅτι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν οἱ μὴ κοινὴν τὴν εὐνοίαν τοῖς  
 23 ἀγωνιζομένοις παρέχοντες. ὃ δὲ πάντων δεινό-  
 τατον, ὅταν τις αὐτὸς μὲν κινδυνεύων κατηγορῇ  
 τῶν διαβαλλόντων, ἐτέρῳ δὲ δικάζων μὴ τὴν  
 αὐτὴν ἔχῃ γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν. καίτοι χρή τοὺς  
 νοῦν ἔχοντας τοιούτους εἶναι κριτὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις,  
 οἷων περ ἂν αὐτοὶ τυγχάνειν ἀξιῶσαιεν, λογιζο-  
 [315] μένους ὅτι διὰ τοὺς συκοφαντεῖν τολμῶντας  
 ἄδηλον ὅστις εἰς κίνδυνον καταστάς ἀναγκασθή-  
 σεται λέγειν ἅπερ ἐγὼ νῦν πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον διοίσειν.
- 24 Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῷ γε κοσμίως ζῆν ἄξιον πιστεύειν  
 ὥς ἀδεῶς ἐξέσται τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖν· οἱ γὰρ προ-  
 ηρημένοι τῶν μὲν ἰδίων ἀμελεῖν τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις  
 ἐπιβουλεύειν οὐ τῶν μὲν σωφρόνως πολιτευομένων  
 ἀπέχονται, τοὺς δὲ κακόν τι δρῶντας εἰς ὑμᾶς  
 εἰσάγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπιδει-  
 ξάμενοι τὰς αὐτῶν δυνάμεις παρὰ τῶν φανερώς  
 25 ἐξημαρτηκότων πλέον λαμβάνουσιν ἀργύριον. ἅπερ  
 Λυσίμαχος διανοηθεὶς εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν κίνδυνόν με

\* Cf. *Peace* 3; Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 1-2.

† Compare the opposite ideal in *Areop.* 24; *Paneg.* 76; *Panath.* 145 ff.



we take our solemn oath at the beginning of each year that we will hear impartially both accusers and accused, we depart so far from this in practice, that when the accuser makes his charges we give ear to whatever he may say ; but when the accused endeavours to refute them, we sometimes do not endure even to hear his voice.<sup>a</sup> Those states in which an occasional citizen is put to death without a trial we condemn as unfit to live in, yet are blind to the fact that we are in the same case when we do not hear with equal good will both sides of the contest. But what is most absurd of all is the fact that when one of us is on trial, he denounces the calumniators, but when he sits in judgement upon another, he is no longer of the same mind regarding them. Yet, surely, intelligent men ought to be such when they are judges of others, as they would expect others to be to them in like case, bearing in mind the fact that because of the audacity of the sycophants it is impossible to foresee what man may be placed in peril and be compelled to plead, even as I am now doing, before men who are to decide his fate by their votes.

Indeed no one may rely on the honesty of his life as a guarantee that he will be able to live securely in Athens ; for the men who have chosen to neglect what is their own and to plot against what belongs to others do not keep their hands off citizens who live soberly and bring before you only those who do evil ; on the contrary, they advertise their powers in their attacks upon men who are entirely innocent, and so get more money from those who are clearly guilty.<sup>b</sup> This is exactly what Lysimachus had in mind when he subjected me to this trial ; for he



κατέστησεν, ἡγούμενος τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν πρὸς ἐμὲ  
 παρ' ἐτέρων αὐτῷ χρηματισμὸν ποιήσῃν, καὶ  
 προσδοκῶν, ἣν ἐμοῦ περιγένηται τοῖς λόγοις, ὃν  
 φησι διδάσκαλον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνυπόστατον  
 26 τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἅπασιν εἶναι δόξειν. ἐλπίζει δὲ  
 ῥαδίως τοῦτο ποιήσῃν· ὁρᾷ γὰρ ὑμᾶς μὲν λίαν  
 ταχέως ἀποδεχομένους τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς δια-  
 βολάς, ἐμὲ δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὐ δυνησόμενον ἀξίως  
 τῆς δόξης ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ  
 27 διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων. οὕτω  
 γὰρ βεβίωκα τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον, ὥστε μηδένα  
 μοι πώποτε μήτ' ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ μήτ' ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ  
 μήθ' ὕβριν μήτ' ἀδικίαν ἐγκαλέσαι, μηδ' εἶναι  
 μήτε διαιτητὴν μήτε δικαστὴν ὅστις περὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ  
 πεπραγμένων φανήσεται κριτῆς γεγεννημένος· ἡπι-  
 στάμην γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους μηδὲν  
 ἔξαμαρτάνειν, ἀδικούμενος δὲ μὴ μετὰ δικαστηρίου  
 ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τιμωρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς  
 ἐκείνων διαλύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων.  
 28 ὧν οὐδέν μοι πλέον γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεγκλητεῖ μέχρι  
 ταυτησὶ τῆς ἡλικίας βεβιωκὼς εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν  
 καθέστηκα κίνδυνον, εἰς ὃνπερ ἂν εἰ πάντας  
 ἐτύγχανον ἡδικηκῶς.

Οὐ μὲν παντάπασιν ἀθυμῶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ  
 τιμήματος, ἀλλ' εἰάν περ ἐθελήσητε μετ' εὐνοίας  
 [316] ἀκροάσασθαι, πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω τοὺς μὲν δι-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Plato, *Apology* 17 D. Isocrates repeatedly echoes the defence of Socrates. See General Introd. p. xvii and Vasold, *Ueber das Verhältniss der isocrateischen Rede* *Περὶ ἀντιδόσεως* zu *Platon's Apologia Socratis*.

<sup>b</sup> The distinction between ὕβρις (violence) and ἀδικία (injury) is hardly technical. It seems to be between crimes



thought that this suit against me would bring him profit from other sources, and he expected that if he won in the debate with me, whom he calls the teacher of other men, everyone would regard his power as irresistible. He is confident that he will win easily ; for he sees that you are over-ready to accept slanders and calumnies, while I, because of my age and my lack of experience in contests of this kind,<sup>a</sup> shall not be able to reply to them in a manner worthy of my reputation ; for I have so lived all my life till now that no man either under the oligarchy or under the democracy has ever charged me with any offence, whether of violence or injury,<sup>b</sup> nor will any man be found to have sat either as arbitrator<sup>c</sup> or as judge upon my actions. For I have schooled myself to avoid giving any offence to others, and, when I have been wronged by others, not to seek revenge in court but to adjust the matter in dispute by conferring with their friends. All this has availed me nothing ; on the contrary, I who have lived to this advanced age without complaint from anyone could not be in greater jeopardy if I had wronged all the world.

Yet I am not utterly discouraged because I face so great a penalty ;<sup>d</sup> no, if you will only hear me with good will, I am very confident that those who

of personal violence, such as assault, and other offences against the law in general.

<sup>c</sup> Certain issues might be kept out of court by being referred to an arbitrator, either agreed upon by the parties concerned or designated by lot from the public arbitrators provided for by law. See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* p. 220 ff.

<sup>d</sup> Isocrates seems to pretend throughout that he, like Socrates, is being tried on a capital charge.



εψευσμένους τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πεπεισμένους ὑπὸ τῶν βουλομένων βλασφημεῖν ταχέως μεταπεισθήσεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ τοιοῦτον εἶναί με νομίζοντας οἷός περ εἰμί, βεβαιότερον ἔτι ταύτην ἔξειν τὴν διάνοιαν.

- 29 Ἴνα δὲ μὴ λίαν ἐνοχλῶ πολλὰ πρὸ τοῦ πράγματος λέγων, ἀφένετος τούτων, περὶ ὧν οἴσεται τὴν ψῆφον, ἥδη πειράσομαι διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς.

Καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι τὴν γραφήν.

### ΓΡΑΦΗ.

- 80 Ἐκ μὲν τοίνυν τῆς γραφῆς πειράται με διαβάλλειν ὁ κατήγορος ὡς διαφθείρω τοὺς νεωτέρους λέγειν διδάσκων καὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι πλεονεκτεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων λόγων ποιεῖ με τηλικούτον, ὅσος οὐδεὶς πώποτε γέγονεν οὔτε τῶν περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καλινδουμένων οὔτε τῶν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διατριψάντων· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἰδιώτας φησὶ μου γεγενῆσθαι μαθητάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήτορας καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ βασιλέας καὶ τυράννους, καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν παμπληθῆ τὰ μὲν εἰληφέναι
- 31 τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν λαμβάνειν. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον πεποίηται τὴν κατηγορίαν, ἡγούμενος ἐκ μὲν ὧν καταλαζονεύεται περὶ μου καὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν μαθητῶν φθόνον ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἐμποιήσκειν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια πραγματείας εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ μῖσος ὑμᾶς καταστήσειν· ἅπερ ὅταν πάθωσιν οἱ κρίνοντες, χαλεπώτατοι τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις εἰσὶν.

<sup>a</sup> Here, as elsewhere, Isocrates preserves the fiction of a court scene by calling upon the clerk to read the formal charge.



have been misled as to my pursuits and have been won over by my would-be slanderers will promptly change their views, while those who think of me as I really am will be still more confirmed in their opinion.

But in order that I may not overtax your patience by speaking at undue length before coming to the subject, I shall leave off this discussion and attempt forthwith to inform you on the question which you are to vote upon.

*(To the clerk.)* Please read the indictment.<sup>a</sup>

*(The indictment is read.)*

Here in the indictment my accuser endeavours to vilify me, charging that I corrupt young men<sup>b</sup> by teaching them to speak and gain their own advantage in the courts contrary to justice, while in his speech he makes me out to be a man whose equal has never been known either among those who hang about the law-courts or among the devotees of philosophy; for he declares that I have had as my pupils not only private persons but orators, generals, kings, and despots;<sup>c</sup> and that I have received from them and am now receiving enormous sums of money. He has made his accusation in this manner, thinking that his extravagant assertions about me and my wealth and the great number of my pupils would arouse the envy of all his hearers, while my alleged activities in the law-courts would stir up your anger and hate; and when judges are affected by these very passions, they are most severe upon those who are on trial.

<sup>b</sup> An echo of Plato, *Apology* 23 c-d.

<sup>c</sup> See General Introd. p. xxix.



Ὡς οὖν τὰ μὲν μείζω τοῦ προσήκοντος εἶρηκε,  
τὰ δ' ὅλως ψεύδεται, ῥαδίως οἶμαι φανερόν  
32 ποιήσιν. ἀξιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οἷς  
πρότερον ἀκηκόατε περί μου τῶν βλασφημεῖν καὶ  
διαβάλλειν βουλομένων, μὴ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν,  
μηδὲ πιστεύειν τοῖς μήτε μετ' ἐλέγχου μήτε μετὰ  
κρίσεως εἰρημένοις, μηδὲ ταῖς δόξαις χρῆσθαι ταῖς  
ἀδίκως ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὑμῖν ἐγγεγεννημέναις, ἀλλ'  
ὅποῖός τις ἂν ἐκ τῆς κατηγορίας τῆς νῦν καὶ τῆς  
ἀπολογίας φαίνωμαι, τοιοῦτον εἶναί με νομίζειν.  
οὕτω γὰρ γινώσκοντες αὐτοί τε δόξετε καλῶς  
[317] κρίνειν καὶ νομίμως, ἐγὼ τε τεύξομαι πάντων τῶν  
δικαίων.

33 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς οὕθ' ὑπὸ τῆς δεινότητος τῆς  
ἐμῆς οὕθ' ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραμμάτων βέβλαπται τῶν  
πολιτῶν, τὸν ἐνεστῶτα κίνδυνον ἡγοῦμαι μέγιστον  
εἶναι τεκμήριον. εἰ γάρ τις ἦν ἡδίκημένος, εἰ καὶ  
τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, οὐκ ἂν ἡμέλησε  
τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἦλθεν ἂν ἥτοι  
κατηγορήσων ἢ καταμαρτυρήσων. ὅπου γὰρ ὁ  
μηδ' ἀκηκοὺς μηδὲν πώποτε φλαῦρον εἰς ἀγῶνά  
με τηλικουτονὶ κατέστησεν, ἢ που σφόδρ' ἂν οἱ  
κακῶς πεπονθότες ἐπειρῶντ' ἂν δίκην παρ' ἐμοῦ  
34 λαμβάνειν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γ' ἐστὶν οὕτ' εἰκὸς  
οὔτε δυνατόν, ἐμὲ μὲν περὶ πολλοὺς ἡμαρτηκέναι,  
τοὺς δὲ ταῖς συμφοραῖς δι' ἐμὲ περιπεπτωκότας  
ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν καὶ μὴ τολμᾶν ἐγκαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ πραο-  
τέρους ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς εἶναι κινδύνοις τῶν μηδὲν



However, in the one charge he has grossly exaggerated the facts and in the other he lies outright, as I think I can easily show. Let me ask you, however, not to pay any attention to what you have heard about me in the past from my would-be slanderers and calumniators, not to credit charges which have been made without proof or trial, and not to be influenced by the suspicions which have been maliciously implanted in you by my enemies, but to judge me to be the kind of man which the accusation and the defence in this trial will show me to be ; for if you decide the case on this basis, you will have the credit of judging honourably and in accordance with the law, while I, for my part, shall obtain my complete deserts.

Now, in fact, no citizen has ever been harmed either by my "cleverness" or by my writings, and I think the most convincing proof of this is furnished by this trial ; for if any man had been wronged by me, even though he might have held his tongue up till now, he would not have neglected the present opportunity, but would have come forward to denounce me or bear witness against me. For when one who has never in his life heard a single disparaging word from me has put me in so great peril, depend upon it, had any suffered injury at my hands, they would now attempt to have their revenge.<sup>a</sup> For surely it is neither probable nor possible both that I, on the one hand, have wronged many people and that those, on the other hand, who have been visited with misfortune through me are silent and refrain from accusing me ; nay, are kinder to me when my life is in peril than those

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Plato, *Apology* 33 D.



ἡδίκημένων, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς δηλώσασιν ἂ πεπόνθασι  
 35 τὴν μεγίστην παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἀλλὰ  
 γὰρ οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν οὐδεὶς μοι φανήσεται  
 τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐγκαλέσας.

“Ὡστ' εἰ συγχωρήσαιμι τῷ κατηγορῶ καὶ προσ-  
 ομολογήσαιμι πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι δεινότατος,  
 καὶ συγγραφεὺς τῶν λόγων τῶν λυπούντων ὑμᾶς  
 τοιοῦτος οἷος οὐδεὶς ἄλλος γέγονε, πολὺ ἂν δικαιο-  
 36 τερον ἐπιεικὴς εἶναι δοκοίην ἢ ζημιωθείην. τοῦ μὲν  
 γὰρ γενέσθαι προέχοντα τῶν ἄλλων ἢ περὶ τοὺς  
 λόγους ἢ περὶ τὰς πράξεις εἰκότως ἂν τις τὴν τύχην  
 αἰτιάσαιτο, τοῦ δὲ καλῶς καὶ μετρίως κεχρῆσθαι  
 τῇ φύσει δικαίως ἂν ἅπαντες τὸν τρόπον τὸν ἐμὸν  
 ἐπαινέσειαν.

Οὐ μὲν οὐδ' εἰ ταῦτ' ἔχων περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγειν,  
 οὐδ' οὕτω φανήσομαι περὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς  
 37 τοιούτους γεγεννημένος. γνῶσεσθε δ' ἐκ τῶν  
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῶν ἐμῶν, ἐξ ὧν περ οἰόντ' ἐστὶν  
 εἰδέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ τῶν  
 διαβαλλόντων. οἶμαι γὰρ οὐδένα τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν,  
 ὅτι πάντες ἄνθρωποι περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον  
 εἰώθασι διατρίβειν, ὅθεν ἂν προέλωνται τὸν βίον  
 38 πορίζεσθαι. τοὺς μὲν τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῶν συμβολαίων  
 τῶν ὑμετέρων ζῶντας καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα πραγ-  
 ματείας ἴδοιτ' ἂν μόνον οὐκ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις  
 [318] οἰκοῦντας, ἐμὲ δ' οὐδεὶς πώποθ' ἐώρακεν οὔτ' ἐν  
 τοῖς συνεδρίοις οὔτε περὶ τὰς ἀνακρίσεις οὔτ' ἐπὶ  
 τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὔτε πρὸς τοῖς διαιτηταῖς, ἀλλ'

<sup>a</sup> See General Introd. p. xx.

<sup>b</sup> The συνέδριον, a board made up of the six junior archons called Thesmothetae, had jurisdiction over a large number of offences against the state.



who have suffered no injury, especially since all they have to do is to testify to the wrongs I have done them in order to obtain the fullest reparation. But neither in the past nor now will anyone be found to have made any such complaint.

If, therefore, I were to agree with my accuser and concede his claim that I am the "cleverest" of men and that I have never had an equal as a writer of the kind of speeches which are offensive to you, it would be much more just to give me credit for being an honest man than to punish me; for when a man has superior talents whether for speech or for action, one cannot fairly charge it to anything but fortune, but when a man makes good and temperate use of the power which nature has given him, as in my own case, all the world ought in justice to commend his character.

However, though I might advance this argument in my behalf, I shall never be found to have had anything to do with speeches for the courts.<sup>a</sup> You can judge this from my habits of life, from which indeed, you can get at the truth much better than from the lips of my accusers; for no one is, I think, blind to the fact that all people are wont to spend their time in the places where they elect to gain their livelihood. And you will observe that those who live upon your contracts and the litigation connected with them are all but domiciled in the courts of law, while no one has ever seen me either at the council-board,<sup>b</sup> or at the preliminaries,<sup>c</sup> or in the courts,<sup>d</sup> or before the arbitrators<sup>e</sup>; on the

<sup>a</sup> The ἀνάκρισις was any preliminary hearing before an appropriate magistrate.

<sup>d</sup> The regular Heliastic jury-panels. See *Areop.* 54, note.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. 27, note.



οὕτως ἀπέχομαι τούτων ἀπάντων ὥς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν πολιτῶν.

39 "Ἐπειτ' ἐκείνους μὲν ἂν εὖροιτε παρ' ὑμῖν μόνοις χρηματίζεσθαι δυναμένους, εἰ δ' ἄλλοσέ ποί πλεύσειαν, ἐνδεεῖς ἂν ὄντας τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰς εὐπορίας, περὶ ὧν οὗτος μειζόνως εἶρηκεν, ἔξωθεν ἀπάσας γεγεννημένας· ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν πλησιάζοντας ἢ τοὺς ἐν κακοῖς αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἢ τοὺς ἑτέροις πράγματα παρέχειν βουλομένους, ἐμοὶ δὲ τοὺς πλείστην σχολὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγοντας.

40 Ἡκούσατε δὲ καὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου λέγοντος ὅτι παρὰ Νικοκλέους τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέως πολλὰς ἔλαβον καὶ μεγάλας δωρεάς. καίτοι τίνι πιστὸν ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὥς Νικοκλῆς ἔδωκέ μοι ταύτας, ἵνα δίκας μανθάνῃ λέγειν, ὅς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ὥσπερ δεσπότης ἐδίκαζεν; ὥστ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς οὗτος εἶρηκε, ῥάδιον καταμαθεῖν ὅτι πόρρω τῶν πραγματειῶν εἰμι τῶν περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια γιγνομένων. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ κεῖνο πᾶσι φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι παμπληθεῖς εἰσιν οἱ παρασκευάζοντες τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀγωνιζομένοις. τούτων μὲν τοίνυν τοσούτων ὄντων οὐδεὶς πώποτε φανήσεται μαθητῶν ἡξιωμένος, ἐγὼ δὲ πλείους εἰληφώς, ὥς φησιν ὁ κατήγορος, ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διατρίβοντες. καίτοι πῶς εἰκὸς τοὺς τοσοῦτον τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἀλλήλων ἀφεστῶτας περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἡγεῖσθαι διατρίβειν;

42 Ἐχων δὲ πολλὰς εἰπεῖν διαφορὰς περὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς δίκας, ἐκείνως ὑμᾶς

<sup>a</sup> There is a story that Isocrates charged no fees to Athenian pupils.



contrary, I have kept aloof from all these more than any of my fellow-citizens.

Moreover, you will find that these men are able to carry on a profitable business in Athens alone; if they were to sail to any other place they would starve to death; while my resources, which this fellow has exaggerated, have all come to me from abroad.<sup>a</sup> Then again you will find associated with them either men who are themselves in evil case or who want to ruin others, while in my company are those who of all the Hellenes lead the most untroubled lives.

But you have heard also from my accuser that I have received many great presents from Nicocles, the king of the Salaminians.<sup>b</sup> And yet, can any one of you be persuaded that Nicocles made me these presents in order that he might learn how to plead cases in court—he who dispensed justice, like a master, to others in their disputes? So, from what my accuser has himself said, it is easy for you to conclude that I have nothing to do with litigation. Nay, everyone is aware of this also, that there is a superabundance of men who produce speeches for litigants in the courts. Nevertheless you will not find that any one of them, numerous as they are, has ever been thought worthy to have pupils, while I, as my accuser states, have had more than all the rest together who are occupied with philosophy. Yet how can anyone think that people who are so far apart in their ways of life are engaged in the same occupations?

But although I could point out many contrasts between my own career and that of the pleaders

<sup>a</sup> See Isocrates, Vol. I. p. 39, L.C.L.



γὰρ ἦν πολλὰ λίαν λέγω περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς  
 πλείστοις ὁμολογουμένων, δέδοικα μὴ περὶ τῶν  
 ἀμφισβητουμένων ἀπορεῖν δόξω. παυσάμενος οὖν  
 τούτων ἐπ' ἐκείνους τρέψομαι, τοὺς οὐ κατα-  
 φρονοῦντας μὲν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, πολὺ δὲ πικρό-  
 τερον κατηγοροῦντας αὐτῆς, καὶ μεταφέροντας  
 τὰς πονηρίας τὰς τῶν φασκόντων μὲν εἶναι  
 σοφιστῶν ἄλλο δέ τι πραττόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐδέν  
 216 τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδεύοντας. ἐγὼ δ' οὐχ  
 ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν προσποιουμένων δύνασθαι  
 παιδεύειν ποιῶμαι τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 δικαίως τὴν δόξαν ταύτην ἐχόντων. οἶμαι δὲ  
 σαφῶς ἐπιδείξειν τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας ἡμῶν πολὺ  
 τῆς ἀληθείας διημαρτηκότας, ἣν περ ἐθελήσητε  
 διὰ τέλους ἀκοῦσαι τῶν λεγομένων.

217 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὀρίσασθαι δεῖ τίνων ὀρεγόμενοι  
 καὶ τίνος τυχεῖν βουλόμενοι τολμῶσί τινες ἀδικεῖν.  
 ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα καλῶς περιλάβωμεν, ἄμεινον  
 γνώσεσθε τὰς αἰτίας τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν λεγομένας,  
 εἴτ' ἀληθεῖς εἰσιν εἴτε ψευδεῖς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν  
 ἡδονῆς ἢ κέρδους ἢ τιμῆς ἕνεκα φημὶ πάντας  
 πάντα πράττειν. ἔξω γὰρ τούτων οὐδεμίαν ἐπι-  
 218 θυμίαν ὁρῶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγγιγνομένην. εἰ δὴ  
 ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, λοιπὸν ἐστὶ σκέψασθαι τί  
 τούτων ἂν ἡμῖν γίγνοιτο διαφθείρουσι τοὺς νεω-  
 τέρους.

Πότερ' ἂν ἡσθείημεν ὁρῶντες ἢ καὶ πυνθανό-  
 μενοι πονηροὺς αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ δοκοῦντας τοῖς  
 συμπολιτευομένοις; καὶ τίς οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀν-  
 αίσθητος ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἀλγήσειε τοιαύτης διαβολῆς  
 219 περὶ αὐτὸν γιγνομένης; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν θαυ-  
 μασθεῖμεν οὐδὲ τιμῆς μεγάλης τύχοιμεν τοιούτους



too much on questions about which most men are agreed, I fear you may suspect that I have little to say on questions which are in dispute. Therefore I shall leave this subject and turn my attention to a class of people who do not, to be sure, condemn philosophy but condemn it much more bitterly since they attribute the iniquities of those who profess to be sophists,<sup>a</sup> but in practice are far different, to those whose ways have nothing in common with them. But I am speaking, not in behalf of all those who pretend to be able to educate the young, but in behalf of those only who have justly earned this reputation, and I think that I shall convince you that my accusers have shot very wide of the truth if only you are willing to hear me to the end.

In the first place, then, we must determine what are the objects which make people venture to do evil; for if we define these correctly, you will be better able to make up your minds whether the charges which have been made against us are true or false. Well then, I maintain that everyone does everything which he does for the sake of pleasure or gain or honour; for I observe that no desire springs up in men save for these objects. If this be so, it only remains to consider which of these objects we should attain by corrupting the young.

Do you suppose it would give us pleasure to see or hear that our pupils were bad and in evil repute with their fellow-citizens? And who is so insensate that he would not be distressed to have such things reported about himself? But surely we could not expect to be admired nor to enjoy great honour for

<sup>a</sup> That is, teachers of wisdom. He means so-called sophists, such as teachers of forensic skill, who bring all sophists into disrepute.



τοὺς συνόντας ἀποπέμποντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἂν  
 μᾶλλον καταφρονηθεῖμεν καὶ μισηθεῖμεν τῶν ταῖς  
 ἄλλαις πονηρίαις ἐνόχων ὄντων. καὶ μὴν οὐδ'  
 εἰ ταῦτα παρίδοιμεν, χρήματα πλείστ' ἂν λάβοιμεν  
 220 οὕτω παιδείας προεστῶτες. οἶμαι γὰρ δήπου  
 τοῦτό γε πάντας γιγνώσκειν, ὅτι σοφιστῇ μισθὸς  
 κάλλιστός ἐστι καὶ μέγιστος, ἣν τῶν μαθητῶν  
 τινες καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ φρόνιμοι γένωνται καὶ  
 παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις εὐδοκιμοῦντες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
 τοιοῦτοι πολλοὺς μετασχεῖν τῆς παιδείας εἰς  
 ἐπιθυμίαν καθιστᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ καὶ τοὺς  
 πρότερον συνεῖναι διανοομένους ἀποτρέπουσιν.  
 ὥστε τίς ἂν ἐν τούτοις τὸ κρεῖττον ἀγνοήσκειν,  
 οὕτω μεγάλην τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν πραγμάτων  
 ἔχόντων;

221 "Ἴσως οὖν ἂν τις πρὸς ταῦτα τολμήσειεν εἰπεῖν  
 ὥς πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὰς ἀκρασίας οὐκ  
 ἐμμένουσι τοῖς λογισμοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ  
 συμφέροντος ἐπὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ὀρμῶσιν. ἐγὼ δ'  
 ὁμολογῶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν προσ-  
 ποιουμένων εἶναι σοφιστῶν ἔχειν τινὰς τὴν  
 222 φύσιν ταύτην, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲ τῶν τοιούτων  
 οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν οὕτως ἀκρατὴς ὅστις ἂν δέξαιτο καὶ  
 τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶναι τοιούτους· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῶν  
 τῶν διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ἐκείνοις συμβαινουσῶν οὐκ  
 ἂν δύναίτο μετασχεῖν, τῆς δὲ δόξης τῆς διὰ τὴν  
 πονηρίαν γιγνομένης αὐτὸς ἂν τὸ πλείστον μέρος  
 ἀπολαύσειεν.

"Ἐπειτα τίνας ἂν καὶ διαφθείραιεν, καὶ τοὺς  
 πῶς διακειμένους λάβοιεν ἂν μαθητὰς; ἄξιον  
 223 γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα διελθεῖν. πότερον τοὺς ἤδη  
 κακοήθεις ὄντας καὶ πονηροὺς; καὶ τίς ἂν, ἂ



sending out disciples of that sort ; on the contrary, we should be much more despised and hated than those who are charged with other forms of villainy. And, mark you, even if we could shut our eyes to these consequences, we could not gain the most money by directing a training of that character ; for, I suppose, all men are aware that a sophist reaps his finest and his largest reward when his pupils prove to be honourable and intelligent and highly esteemed by their fellow-citizens, since pupils of that sort inspire many with the desire to enjoy his teaching, while those who are depraved repel even those who were formerly minded to join his classes. Who, then, could be blind to the more profitable course, when there is so vast a difference between the two ?

Perhaps, however, some might venture to reply that many men, because of their incontinence, are not amenable to reason, but neglect their true interests and rush on in the pursuit of pleasure. I grant you that many men in general and some who pretend to be sophists are of this nature. Nevertheless, no one even of their number is so incontinent as to desire his pupils also to show the same lack of control ; for he would not be able to share in the pleasures which they might enjoy as the result of their incontinence, while he would bring down upon his own head most of the evil repute which would result from their depravity.

Again, whom would they corrupt and what manner of people would they get as pupils ? For this is worth inquiring into. Would they get those who are already perverse and vicious ? And who, pray, would make



παρὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως ἐπίσταται, ταῦτα παρ' ἑτέρου μαθάνειν ἐπιχειρήσειεν; ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπικεῖς καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντας; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν εἷς τῶν τοιούτων τοῖς κακὸν τι λέγουσιν ἢ πράττουσι διαλεχθῆναι τολμήσειεν.

224 Ἡδέως δ' ἂν κακὲῖνο πυθοίμην παρὰ τῶν χαλεπῶς ἐχόντων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τίνα ποτὲ γνώμην ἔχουσι περὶ τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας καὶ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τόπων δεῦρο πλεόντων, ἵνα παιδευθῶσι. πότερον αὐτοὺς οἴονται σπανίζοντας ἐκεῖ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνθάδε ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν; ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν εὖροι τις ἂν τῶν συμπονηρεύεσθαι καὶ συνεξαμαρτάνειν βουλομένων.

225 ἀλλ' ἵνα κακοπράγμονες καὶ συκοφάνται γένωνται, πολλὰ χρήματα τελέσαντες; ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν γνώμην πολὺ ἂν ἥδιον τὰ τῶν ἄλλων λάβοιεν ἢ δοῖεν ἑτέροις ὅτιοῦν τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν· ἔτι δὲ τίνες ἂν ὑπὲρ πονηρίας ἀργύριον ἀναλώσαιεν, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν δαπανηθεῖσιν εἶναι τοιούτοις, ὅποταν βουληθῶσιν; οὐ γὰρ μαθεῖν ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρῆσαι μόνον δεῖ τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἔργων.

226 Ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πλέουσι καὶ χρήματα διδόασιν καὶ πάντα ποιοῦσι νομίζοντες αὐτοὶ τε βελτίους γενήσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε παιδεύοντας πολὺ φρονιμωτέρους εἶναι τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· ἐφ' οἷς ἄξιον ἦν ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας φιλοτιμεῖσθαι, καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῇ πόλει τῆς δόξης ταύτης γενομένους.

227 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὕτω τινὲς ἀγνωμόνως ἔχουσιν ὥστ' εἰδότες καὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους καὶ τοὺς προεστῶτας τῆς παιδείας οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐπι-



an effort to learn from another what his own nature teaches him? Would they, then, get those who are honest and ambitious to lead a useful life? But no such person would deign to speak with men who are evil in their words and in their deeds.

I should like to ask those who disapprove of me what they think about the students who cross the sea from Sicily, from the Pontus, and from other parts of the world in order to enjoy my instruction. Do they think that they voyage to Athens because of the dearth of evil-minded men at home? But anywhere on earth anyone can find no lack of men willing to aid him in depravity and crime. Do they think, then, that they come here in order to become intriguers and sycophants, at great expense to themselves? But, in the first place, people of this mind are much more inclined to lay hold of other people's property than to part with anything of their own; and, in the next place, who would pay out money to learn depravity, since it is easy to be depraved at no expense whatever, whenever one is so inclined? For there is no need of taking lessons in evil-doing; all that a man has to do is to set his hands to it.

No, it is evident that these students cross the sea and pay out money and go to all manner of trouble because they think that they themselves will be the better for it and that the teachers here are much more intelligent than those in their own countries. This ought to fill all Athenians with pride and make them appreciate at their worth those who have given to the city this reputation.

But, in fact, some of our people are extremely unreasonable. They know that neither the strangers who come here nor the men who preside over their



τηδεύοντας, ἀλλ' ἀπραγμονεστάτους μὲν ὄντας  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πλείστην ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας,  
 προσέχοντας δὲ τὸν νοῦν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς  
 228 συνουσίας μετ' ἀλλήλων ποιουμένους, ἔτι δὲ τὰ  
 καθ' ἡμέραν εὐτελέστατα καὶ κοσμιώτατα ζῶντας,  
 καὶ τῶν λόγων ἐπιθυμοῦντας οὐ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 ἰδίοις συμβολαίοις λεγομένων οὐδὲ τῶν λυπούντων  
 τινάς, ἀλλὰ τῶν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκι-  
 μούντων, ὅμως τολμῶσι βλασφημεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν  
 καὶ λέγειν ὡς ταύτην ποιοῦνται τὴν μελέτην, ἵν'  
 229 ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πλεονεκτῶσι. καί  
 τοι τίνες ἂν ἀδικίαν καὶ κακίαν ἀσκοῦντες σωφρο-  
 νέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ζῆν ἐθελήσαιεν; τίνας δὲ  
 πώποθ' ἐωράκασιν οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἀναβαλλο-  
 μένους καὶ θησαυριζομένους τὰς πονηρίας, ἀλλ'  
 οὐκ εὐθὺς τῇ φύσει τῇ παρούσῃ χρωμένους;  
 230 Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἴπερ ἢ περὶ τοὺς λόγους δει-  
 νότης ποιεῖ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιβουλεύειν, προσῆκεν  
 ἅπαντας τοὺς δυναμένους εἰπεῖν πολυπράγμονας  
 καὶ συκοφάντας εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ αἴτιον ἐν ᾧ πασι  
 231 ταῦτὸ πέφυκεν ἐνεργάζεσθαι. νῦν δ' εὐρήσετε  
 καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πολιτευομένων καὶ τῶν  
 νεωστὶ τετελευτηκότων τοὺς πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν  
 τῶν λόγων ποιουμένους βελτίστους ὄντας τῶν ἐπὶ  
 τὸ βῆμα παριόντων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς  
 ἀρίστους ῥήτορας καὶ μεγίστην δόξαν λαβόντας  
 πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους τῇ πόλει γεγεννημένους,  
 ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ Σόλωνος.



education occupy themselves with anything harmful, but that they are, on the contrary, the most unofficious and the most peaceable of all who live in Athens, giving their minds to their own affairs and confining their intercourse to each other, and living, furthermore, day by day in the greatest simplicity and decorum, taking their pleasures in discourse—not the kind of discourse which is employed in petty litigation nor that which is offensive to anyone, but the kind which has the approbation of all men. Nevertheless, although they know all this about them, they do not refrain from traducing them and saying that they engage in this training in order that they may defeat the ends of justice in the courts and win their own advantage. And yet who that engages in the practice of injustice and of evil-doing would be willing to live more continently than the rest? Whom have these traducers ever seen reserving and treasuring up their depravities for future use instead of indulging from the first the evil instincts present in their nature?

But, apart from these considerations, if it be true that cleverness in speech results in plotting against other people's property, we should expect all able speakers to be intriguers and sycophants; for the same cause produces in every instance the same effect. In fact, however, you will find that among our public men who are living to-day or who have but lately passed away those who give most study to the art of words are the best of the statesmen who come before you on the rostrum, and, furthermore, that among the ancients it was the greatest and the most illustrious orators who brought to the city most of her blessings.



- 232 Ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ προστάτης τοῦ δήμου καταστάς οὕτως ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ τὰ πράγματα διέταξε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατεσκεύασεν, ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀγαπᾶσθαι τὴν διοίκησιν τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου συνταχθεῖσαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κλεισθένης ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων, λόγῳ πείσας τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας δανεῖσαι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων αὐτῷ, τὸν τε δῆμον κατήγαγε καὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλε καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκείνην κατέστησε, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν γενομένην·
- 233 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἡγεμὼν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ γενόμενος, συμβουλεύσας τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν, (ὃ τίς ἂν οἶός τ' ἐγένετο πείσαι μὴ πολὺ τῷ λόγῳ διενεγκῶν;) εἰς τοῦτ' αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα προήγαγεν ὥστ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἀνάστατοι γενόμενοι πολὺν χρόνον
- 234 δεσπόται τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέστησαν· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον Περικλῆς καὶ δημαγωγὸς ὢν ἀγαθὸς καὶ ῥήτωρ ἄριστος οὕτως ἐκόσμησε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς εἰσαφικνουμένους εἰς αὐτὴν νομίζειν μὴ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀξίαν εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐκ ἐλάττω μυρίων
- 235 ταλάντων ἀνήνεγκε. καὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τηλικαῦτα διαπραξαμένων οὐδεὶς λόγων ἡμέλησεν,

<sup>a</sup> For Solon and Cleisthenes as authors of Athenian democracy see *Areop.* 16.

<sup>b</sup> For the Amphictyonic Council see *Phil.* 74, Vol. I. p. 290, footnote c. The family of the Alcmaeonidae, to which Cleisthenes belonged, won the favour of this council by their aid in rebuilding the temple of Apollo which had been burned in 548 B.C. The story that Cleisthenes and his



First of all was Solon.<sup>a</sup> For when he was placed at the head of the people, he gave them laws, set their affairs in order, and constituted the government of the city so wisely that even now Athens is well satisfied with the polity which was organized by him. Next, Cleisthenes, after he had been driven from Athens by the tyrants, succeeded by his eloquence in persuading the Amphictyons to lend him money from the treasury of Apollo,<sup>b</sup> and thus restored the people to power, expelled the tyrants, and established that democracy to which the world of Hellas owes its greatest blessings. After him, Themistocles,<sup>c</sup> placed at the head of our forces in the Persian War, counselled our ancestors to abandon the city <sup>d</sup> (and who could have persuaded them to do this but a man of surpassing eloquence?), and so advanced their circumstances that at the price of being homeless for a few days they became for a long period of time the masters of the Hellenes. Finally, Pericles,<sup>e</sup> because he was both a good leader of the people and an excellent orator, so adorned the city with temples, monuments, and other objects of beauty, that even to-day visitors who come to Athens think her worthy of ruling not only the Hellenes, but all the world; and, more than this, he stored away in the Acropolis a sum of not less than ten thousand talents. And of these men who carried out such great enterprises not one neglected the

party got funds from the Amphictyony is found also in Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 144. But the facts are confused; see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* vol. ii. p. 387.

<sup>c</sup> The commander of the Athenian fleet at the battle of Salamis.

<sup>d</sup> See *Paneg.* 96; *Archid.* 43.

<sup>e</sup> See *Peace* 126.



- ἀλλὰ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων προσέσχον αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν, ὥστε Σόλων μὲν τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφιστῶν ἐκλήθη καὶ ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, τὴν νῦν ἀτιμαζομένην καὶ κρινομένην παρ' ὑμῖν, Περικλῆς δὲ δυοῖν ἐγένετο μαθητής, Ἀναξαγόρου τε τοῦ Κλαζομενίου καὶ Δάμωνος, τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον φρονιμωτάτου δόξαντος εἶναι  
 236 τῶν πολιτῶν. ὥστ' ἐκ τίνων ἂν τις ὑμῖν σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ὥς οὐχ αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ τῶν λόγων κακοπράγμονας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιοῦσιν; ἀλλ' οἱ τοιαύτην φύσιν ἔχοντες, οἷαν περ ὁ κατήγορος, πονηροῖς οἶμαι καὶ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν.
- 237 Ἔχω δὲ δεῖξαι καὶ τόπους ἐν οἷς ἔξεστιν ἰδεῖν τοῖς βουλομένοις τοὺς πολυπράγμονας καὶ τοὺς ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνόχους ὄντας ἃς οὗτοι τοῖς σοφισταῖς ἐπιφέρουσιν. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς σανίσι ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκτιθεμέναις ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν θεσμοθετῶν ἀμφοτέρους ἐνεῖναι, τοὺς τε τὴν πόλιν ἀδικοῦντας καὶ τοὺς συκοφαντοῦντας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἑνδεκα τοὺς τε κακουργοῦντας καὶ τοὺς τούτοις ἐφ'esτῶτας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν τετταράκοντα τοὺς τ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις πράγμασιν ἀδικοῦντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ δικαίως ἐγκαλοῦν-  
 238 τας· ἐν αἷς τοῦτον μὲν καὶ τοὺς τούτου φίλους

<sup>a</sup> The term "sophists" here is equivalent to "wise men" (σοφοί). The list of the "Seven Sages" varied, but Solon was always included.

<sup>b</sup> For the relation of Pericles to Anaxagoras see Plutarch, *Pericles*.

<sup>c</sup> See Plato, *Laches* 180 D.

<sup>d</sup> When a case was accepted for trial, the appropriate court fixed a day for the preliminary hearing, and published the charge on white tablets set up in the market



art of discourse ; nay, so much more did they apply their minds to eloquence than to other things, that Solon was named one of the seven sophists <sup>a</sup> and was given the title which is now dishonoured and on trial here ; and Pericles studied under two of the sophists, Anaxagoras of Clazomenae <sup>b</sup> and Damon, <sup>c</sup> the latter in his day reputed to be the wisest among the Athenians. Could one, then, show more clearly than by these examples that the powers of eloquence do not turn men into evil-doers ? No, but, on the other hand, those who are evil from their birth, like my accuser, will, I doubt not, continue to the end indulging their depravity both in words and in deeds.

But I can show you also where you may see, if you desire, the names of our trouble-makers and of the men who are really liable to the charges which these people apply to the sophists. They are published by law on the tablets which the magistrates set up : public offenders and sycophants have their names published by the Thesmothetae ; malefactors and their instigators, by the Eleven ; and private offenders and authors of unjust complaints, by the Forty. <sup>d</sup> In these lists you will find the names of place. See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* p. 820. The "Thesmothetae" (see 38, note) were responsible for bringing to trial mainly offenders against the state, including sycophants. See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* pp. 374 ff. The "Eleven," besides being a board for the care of prisons and for the execution of condemned criminals, dealt with malefactors such as robbers, burglars, pickpockets, kidnappers, etc. See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* p. 78. "The Forty," four selected by lot from each of the ten tribes, had jurisdiction over the great mass of private litigation, involving mainly property rights (torts), themselves settling without more ado all petty cases involving sums not exceeding ten drachmas. See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* pp. 81 ff.



- εὖροιτ' ἂν ἐν πολλαῖς ἐγγεγραμμένους, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ διατριβὴν ὄντας οὐδ' ἐν μιᾷ τούτων ἐνόοντας, ἀλλ' οὕτω τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διοικοῦντας ὥστε μηδὲν δεῖσθαι τῶν ἀγώνων  
 239 τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν. καί τοι τοὺς μήτ' ἐν ταῖς πραγματεΐαις ταύταις ὄντας μήτ' ἀκολάστως ζῶντας μήτε περὶ ἄλλην πρᾶξιν μηδεμίαν αἰσχρὰν γεγεννημένους πῶς οὐκ ἐπαινέεισθαι προσήκει μᾶλλον ἢ κρίνεσθαι; δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τοιαῦτα τοὺς συνόντας παιδεύομεν, οἷά περ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνομεν ἐπιτηδεύοντες.
- 240 Ἔτι τοίνυν γνώσεσθε σαφέστερον ἐκ τῶν ῥηθήσεσθαι μελλόντων ὥς πόρρω τοῦ διαφθείρειν τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐσμέν. εἰ γάρ τι τοιοῦτον ἐποιοῦμεν, οὐκ ἂν Λυσίμαχος ἦν ὁ λυπούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πατέρας ἂν ἐωρᾶτε τῶν συνόντων ἡμῖν καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ γραφομένους καὶ δίκην ζη-  
 241 τοῦντας παρ' ἡμῶν λαμβάνειν. νῦν δ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν συνιστᾶσι τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ χρήματα διδόασι, καὶ χαίρουσιν ὅποταν ὀρώσιν αὐτοὺς μεθ' ἡμῶν ἡμερεύοντας, οἱ δὲ συκοφάνται διαβάλλουσι καὶ πράγματα παρέχουσιν ἡμῖν, ὧν τίνες ἂν ἥδιον ἴδοιεν πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν διαφθειρομένους καὶ πονηροὺς γιγνομένους; ἴσασι γὰρ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν μὲν τοῖς τοιούτοις δυναστεύοντας, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντων ἀπολλυμένους,  
 242 ὅποταν ληφθῶσιν. ὥσθ' οὗτοι μὲν σωφρονοῦσιν ἀναιρεῖν ζητοῦντες ἀπάσας τὰς τοιαύτας διατριβάς, ἐν αἷς ἡγοῦνται βελτίους γενομένους χαλεπωτέρους

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Plato, *Apology* 33 D.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Plato, *Apology* 34 A-B.



this fellow and his friends recorded many times, but you will not find my name nor that of anyone of my profession published in a single one of them. On the contrary, you will find that we so order our own affairs as to stand in no need of your lawsuits. And yet, when men keep clear of these troubles, when they live decently and have had no part in any disgraceful act, why do you not give them their due of praise instead of subjecting them to trial? For it is evident that the principles which we instil into our students are such as we practise in our own lives.

Now you will appreciate even more clearly from the things which I am going to say that I am far from being a corrupter of our youth. For if I were guilty of this, Lysimachus would not be the one to be incensed in their behalf, nor anyone of his kind, but you would see the fathers and relatives of my pupils up in arms, framing writs and seeking to bring me to justice.<sup>a</sup> But instead of that they bring their sons to me and are ready to pay me money, and are rejoiced when they see them spending their days in my society,<sup>b</sup> while the sycophants are the men who speak evil of me and hale me into court. And who more than these sycophants would like to see many of our citizens corrupted and depraved, since they know that when they live among such characters they wield great power,<sup>c</sup> whereas when they fall into the hands of honourable and intelligent men, they are doomed to destruction? Therefore these men are wise in seeking to do away with all studies which they consider will make men better, and so render them more intolerant of the depravities

• *Cf. Peace* 131.



ἔσεσθαι ταῖς αὐτῶν πονηρίαις καὶ συκοφαντίαις, ὑμᾶς δὲ προσήκει τὰναντία τούτοις πράττειν, καὶ ταῦτα νομίζειν εἶναι κάλλιστα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οἷς ἂν τούτους ὁρᾶτε μάλιστα πολεμοῦντας.

- 243 "Ατοπον δέ τι τυγχάνω πεπονθώς· εἰρήσεται γάρ, εἰ καὶ τινες λίαν εὐμετάβολον εἶναί με φήσουσιν. ὀλίγω μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἔλεγον ὥς πολλοὶ τῶν καλῶν καγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν διεψευσμένοι τῆς φιλοσοφίας τραχύτερον πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔχουσι· νῦν δ' οὕτως ἐναργεῖς ὑπέιληφα τοὺς λόγους εἶναι τοὺς εἰρημένους καὶ πᾶσι φανερούς, ὥστ' οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖν μοι δοκεῖ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ καταγιγνώσκειν ἡμῶν ὥς διαφθείρομεν τοὺς μαθητάς, οὐδὲ πεπονθέναι τοιοῦτον οὐδέν οἷον αὐτοὺς ὀλίγω
- 244 πρότερον ἡτιώμην· ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ τᾶληθές εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸ νῦν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ μοι παρεστηκός, ἡγοῦμαι πάντας τοὺς φιλοτίμως μοι<sup>1</sup> διακειμένους ἐπιθυμητικῶς ἔχοντας τοῦ φρονεῖν εὖ καὶ λέγειν αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀμελεῖν τούτων, τοὺς μὲν διὰ ῥαθυμίαν, τοὺς δὲ καταμεμφομένους τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ δι' ἄλλας τινὰς προφάσεις (παμπληθεῖς δ' εἰσί),
- 245 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιουμένους καὶ τυχεῖν βουλομένους ὧν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοὶ καθεστᾶσι, δυσκόλως ἔχειν καὶ ζηλοτυπεῖν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τεταραγμένως διακεῖσθαι καὶ πεπονθέναι παραπλήσια τοῖς ἐρώσι· τίνα γὰρ ἂν τις αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκεῖν αἰτίαν ἔχοι πρεπωδεστέραν ταύτης;
- 246 οἷτινες μακαρίζουσι μὲν καὶ ζηλοῦσι τοὺς καλῶς χρῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ δυναμένους, ἐπιτιμῶσι δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων τοῖς τυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς βουλομένοις. καὶ τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εὖξαιτο μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸς δύνασθαι λέγειν, εἰ



and intrigues of the sycophants. It is well for you, however, to take the opposite course and regard those pursuits as the best to which you see that these men are most inimical.

But I now find myself in a curious position ; for I am going to be frank even if some will say that I shift my ground too easily. A little while ago I said that many good men had been misled about philosophy, and are consequently harshly disposed toward it. Now, however, I have assumed that the arguments which I have presented are so plain and evident to all that no one, it seems to me, can misapprehend its power or accuse me of corrupting my disciples or have any such feeling as I imputed to them a little while ago. Nevertheless, if I am to speak the truth and say what has now come into my mind, I am of the opinion that while all those who are envious of my success covet the ability to think and speak well, yet they themselves neglect to cultivate it, some because they are indolent, some because they discredit their own powers, and some on other pretexts (and these are legion); but when other men take great pains and show a desire to attain what they themselves covet, then they grow irritated, jealous, perturbed in spirit, and are much in the same state of mind as lovers are. Indeed, how could one more aptly explain their condition? They envy the good fortune of those who are able to use words eloquently; yet they reproach the youth who aspire to win this distinction. There is no one of them who would not pray the gods to bestow the power of eloquence upon himself, first

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<sup>1</sup> φιλοτίμως μοι ΓΔΕ : φιλοτίμως Θ.



δὲ μή, τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους τοὺς αὐτοῦ·  
 247 τοὺς δὲ πόνῳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ τοῦτο κατεργάσασθαι  
 πειρωμένους, ὃ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοὶ βούλονται  
 λαβεῖν, οὐδέν φασι τῶν δεόντων πράττειν, ἀλλ'  
 ἐνίοτε μὲν ὡς ἐξηπατημένων καὶ πεφενაკισμένων  
 προσποιοῦνται καταγελᾶν αὐτῶν, ὅποταν δὲ τύ-  
 χωσι, μεταβαλόντες ὡς περὶ πλεονεκτεῖν δυνα-  
 248 μένων τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦνται. καὶ συμβούλοις  
 μέν, ὅταν κίνδυνός τις καταλάβῃ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς  
 ἄριστα περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων λέγουσι, τούτοις  
 χρῶνται, καὶ πράττουσιν ὃ τι ἂν οἱ τοιοῦτοι  
 παραινέσωσι· περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἔργον ποιουμένους ὅπως  
 χρησίμους αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις  
 τῇ πόλει παρασχέσουσι, βλασφημεῖν οἴονται χρήναι.  
 καὶ Θηβαίοις μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐχθροῖς τὴν  
 ἀμαθίαν ὀνειδίζουσι, τοὺς δ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου  
 ζητοῦντας τὴν νόσον ταύτην διαφυγεῖν λοιδороῦντες  
 διατελοῦσιν.

249 Ὁ δ' οὐ μόνον ταραχῆς σημείον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀλιγωρίας· τὴν μὲν γὰρ  
 Πειθῶν μίαν τῶν θεῶν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ τὴν  
 πόλιν ὁρῶσι καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν θυσίαν  
 αὐτῇ ποιουμένην, τοὺς δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ἧς ἡ  
 θεὸς ἔχει μετασχεῖν βουλομένους ὡς κακοῦ πράγ-  
 250 ματος ἐπιθυμοῦντας διαφθείρεσθαί φασιν. ὃ δὲ  
 πάντων δεινότατον, ὅτι προκρίναιεν μὲν ἂν τὴν  
 ψυχὴν σπουδαιοτέραν εἶναι τοῦ σώματος, οὕτω

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\* No love was lost between Athens and Thebes, and to the Athenians the Thebans were proverbial for their stupidity. Cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 995 E: τοὺς γὰρ Βοιωτοὺς ἡμᾶς οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ παχεῖς καὶ ἀναισθήτους καὶ ἡλιθίους, μάλιστα διὰ



of all, and failing that, upon his sons and his own kin; yet when men strive through work and study to accomplish for themselves what these people would like to have as a gift from the gods, they accuse them of going utterly astray. At one moment they make believe to mock at them as dupes and victims; and then again, for no reason at all, they change about and denounce them as adepts in grasping their own advantage. When any danger threatens the city, they seek counsel from those who can speak best upon the question at issue and act upon their advice; but when men devote their efforts to preparing themselves to serve the state in just such crises, they think it proper to traduce them. And they reproach the Thebans and our other enemies for their ignorance;<sup>a</sup> yet when men seek by every means to escape from that malady, they never cease maligning them.

But as a symptom, not only of their confusion of mind, but of their contempt for the gods, they recognize that Persuasion is one of the gods, and they observe that the city makes sacrifices to her every year,<sup>b</sup> but when men aspire to share the power which the goddess possesses, they claim that such aspirants are being corrupted, as though their desire were for some evil thing. But what is most astonishing of all is that while they would grant that the mind is superior to the body, nevertheless, in spite of this

τὰς ἀδηφάγας προσαγορεύουσιν. Cf. Pindar, *Olym.* vi. 148-153; Cicero, *De fato* 4; Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 241-244.

<sup>b</sup> Pausanias (i. 22. 3) states that the worship of Πειθώ (Persuasion) was established in Athens by Theseus, and speaks of a statue of this goddess as once standing near the Acropolis. A special seat of honour was assigned to her priestess in the Theatre. See *C.I.A.* iii. 351.



δὲ γιννώσκοντες ἀποδέχονται μᾶλλον τοὺς γυμναζομένους τῶν φιλοσοφούντων. καί τοι πῶς οὐκ ἄλογον τοὺς τοῦ φαυλοτέρου ποιουμένους τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπαινεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς τοῦ σπουδαιοτέρου, καὶ ταῦτα πάντων εἰδότων διὰ μὲν εὐεξίαν σώματος οὐδὲν πώποτε τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἔργων διαπραξαμένην, διὰ δὲ φρόνησιν ἀνδρὸς εὐδαιμονεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων γενομένην;

- 251 Πολὺ δ' ἂν τις ἔχοι πλείους τούτων ἐναντιώσεις συναγαγεῖν τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τε μᾶλλον ἢ ἢ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ παρόντος μὴ φροντιζόντων· ἐπεὶ καὶ τάδε περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν. φέρε γὰρ εἴ τινες πολλὰ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παραλαβόντες τῇ μὲν πόλει μηδὲν εἶεν χρήσιμοι, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ὑβρίζοιεν καὶ τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αἰσχύνοιεν, ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ πλούτου μέμψασθαι τολμήσειεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἑξαμαρτάνοντας
- 252 κολάζειν ἀξιώσει; τί δ' εἴ τινες ὀπλομαχεῖν μαθόντες πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ χρῶντο ταῖς ἐπιστήμας, ἐπανάστασιν δὲ ποιήσαντες πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν διαφθείραιεν, ἢ καὶ πυκτεύειν καὶ παγκρατιάζειν ὥς οἰόντ' ἄριστα παιδευθέντες τῶν μὲν ἀγώνων ἀμελοῖεν, τοὺς δ' ἀπαντῶντας τύπτοιεν, τίς οὐκ ἂν τούτων τοὺς μὲν διδασκάλους ἐπαινέσειε, τοὺς δὲ κακῶς χρωμένους οἷς ἔμαθον ἀποκτείνειεν;

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the opening paragraph of the *Panegyricus* and note.

<sup>b</sup> The rendering is here doubtful. Literally it is "through wisdom of a man." Possibly Isocrates has in mind Pericles and the triumphs of Athens under his administration. Supporting the rendering "of a man" is *Areop.* 11.



opinion, they look with greater favour upon training in gymnastics than upon the study of philosophy.<sup>a</sup> And yet how unreasonable it is to give higher praise to those who cultivate the less than to those who cultivate the greater thing, and that too when everyone knows it was not through excellence of body that Athens ever accomplished any noteworthy thing, but that through wisdom of men<sup>b</sup> she became the most prosperous and the greatest of Hellenic states.

It would be possible to bring together many more contradictions than the above in the views of these people, but that is a task for those who are younger than I and who are free from anxiety about the present occasion. For example, one might put the following questions on this very subject: Suppose the case of men who, having inherited large fortunes from their ancestors, used their wealth, not to render themselves serviceable to the state, but to outrage their fellow-citizens and to dishonour their sons and their wives; would anyone venture to put the blame upon the authors of their wealth instead of demanding that the offenders themselves be punished? Again, suppose the case of men who, having mastered the art of war, did not use their skill against the enemy, but rose up and slew many of their fellow-citizens; or suppose the case of men who, having been trained to perfection in the art of boxing or of the pancration, kept away from the games and fell foul of the passers-by; would anyone withhold praise from their instructors instead of putting to death those who turned their lessons to an evil use?<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The same point is made in *Nicocles* 3-4. Cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1355 b.



- 253 Οὐκοῦν χρή καὶ περὶ τῶν λόγων τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν  
 διάνοιαν ἣν περ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ μὴ περὶ  
 τῶν ὁμοίων τὰναντία γιννώσκειν, μηδὲ πρὸς  
 τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα δυσμενῶς φαίνεσθαι διακειμέ-  
 νους, ὃ πάντων τῶν ἐνόντων ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 φύσει πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτιόν ἐστι. τοῖς μὲν  
 γὰρ ἄλλοις οἷς ἔχομεν, ὃ περ<sup>1</sup> ἤδη καὶ πρότερον  
 εἶπον, οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζώων διαφέρομεν, ἀλλὰ  
 πολλῶν καὶ τῷ τάχει καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις  
 254 εὐπορίαις καταδεέστεροι τυγχάνομεν ὄντες· ἐγγενο-  
 μένου δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ πείθειν ἀλλήλους καὶ δηλοῦν  
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ ὧν ἂν βουλευθῶμεν, οὐ  
 μόνον τοῦ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἀπηλλάγημεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 συνελθόντες πόλεις ὤκισαμεν καὶ νόμους ἐθέμεθα  
 καὶ τέχνας εὗρομεν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ δι'  
 ἡμῶν μεμηχανημένα λόγος ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ὃ συγκατα-  
 255 σκευάσας. οὗτος γὰρ περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν  
 ἀδίκων καὶ τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν αἰσchrῶν ἐνομο-  
 θέτησεν, ὧν μὴ διαταχθέντων οὐκ ἂν οἰοί τ' ἡμεν  
 οἰκεῖν μετ' ἀλλήλων. τούτῳ καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς  
 ἐξελέγχομεν καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐγκωμιάζομεν.  
 διὰ τούτου τοὺς τ' ἀνοήτους παιδεύομεν καὶ τοὺς  
 φρονίμους δοκιμάζομεν· τὸ γὰρ λέγειν ὥς δεῖ τοῦ  
 φρονεῖν εὖ μέγιστον σημεῖον ποιούμεθα, καὶ λόγος  
 ἀληθῆς καὶ νόμιμος καὶ δίκαιος ψυχῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ  
 256 πιστῆς εἰδωλόν ἐστι. μετὰ τούτου καὶ περὶ τῶν  
 ἀμφισβητησίμων ἀγωνιζόμεθα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγνοου-  
 μένων σκοπούμεθα· ταῖς γὰρ πίστεσιν, αἷς τοὺς  
 ἄλλους λέγοντες πείθομεν, ταῖς αὐταῖς ταύταις  
 βουλευόμενοι χρώμεθα, καὶ ῥητορικοὺς μὲν καλοῦ-

<sup>1</sup> ὃ περ Benseler: ἃ περ MSS.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Paneg. 48.



We ought, therefore, to think of the art of discourse just as we think of the other arts, and not to form opposite judgements about similar things, nor show ourselves intolerant toward that power which, of all the faculties which belong to the nature of man, is the source of most of our blessings. For in the other powers which we possess, as I have already said on a former occasion,<sup>a</sup> we are in no respect superior to other living creatures; nay, we are inferior to many in swiftness and in strength and in other resources; but, because there has been implanted in us the power to persuade each other and to make clear to each other whatever we desire, not only have we escaped the life of wild beasts, but we have come together and founded cities and made laws and invented arts; and, generally speaking, there is no institution devised by man which the power of speech has not helped us to establish. For this it is which has laid down laws concerning things just and unjust, and things honourable and base; and if it were not for these ordinances we should not be able to live with one another. It is by this also that we confute the bad and extol the good. Through this we educate the ignorant and appraise the wise; for the power to speak well is taken as the surest index of a sound understanding, and discourse which is true and lawful and just is the outward image of a good and faithful soul. With this faculty we both contend against others on matters which are open to dispute and seek light for ourselves on things which are unknown; for the same arguments which we use in persuading others when we speak in public, we employ also when we deliberate in our own thoughts; and, while we call eloquent



μεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ πλήθει λέγειν δυναμένους, εὐβού-  
 λους δὲ νομίζομεν οἵτινες ἂν αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
 257 ἄριστα περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διαλεχθῶσιν. εἰ δὲ  
 δεῖ συλλήβδην περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης εἰπεῖν,  
 οὐδὲν τῶν φρονίμως πραττομένων εὐρήσομεν  
 ἀλόγως γιγνόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν  
 διανοημάτων ἀπάντων ἡγεμόνα λόγον ὄντα, καὶ  
 μάλιστα χρωμένους αὐτῷ τοὺς πλείστον νοῦν  
 ἔχοντας.

Ὡν οὐδὲν ἐνθυμηθεὶς Λυσίμαχος κατηγορεῖν  
 ἐτόλμησε τῶν ἐπιθυμούντων τοιούτου πράγματος,  
 ὃ τοσούτων τὸ πλήθος καὶ τηλικούτων τὸ μέγεθος  
 258 ἀγαθῶν αἰτιόν ἐστιν. καὶ τί δεῖ τούτου θαυμάζειν,  
 ὅπου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἔριδας σπουδαζόντων ἐνιοί-  
 τινες ὁμοίως βλασφημοῦσι περὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν  
 κοινῶν καὶ τῶν χρησίμων ὥσπερ οἱ φαυλότατοι  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν,  
 οὐδ' ὅτι τάχιστ' ἂν οὗτοι τοὺς χρωμένους ὠφε-  
 λήσαιεν, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζοντες, ἣν τούτους διαβάλλωσι,  
 τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐντιμοτέρους ποιήσιν.

259 Περὶ ὧν δυνηθεῖν μὲν ἂν ἴσως διαλεχθῆναι  
 πολὺ πικρότερον ἢ ἡ κείνοι περὶ ἡμῶν, οὐδέτερον δ'  
 οἶμαι δεῖν, οὐθ' ὅμοιος γίνεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 φθόγου διεφθαρμένοις, οὔτε ψέγειν τοὺς μηδὲν  
 μὲν κακὸν τοὺς συνόντας ἐργαζομένους, ἥττον δ'  
 ἑτέρων εὐεργετεῖν δυναμένους. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ μικρά  
 γε μνησθήσομαι περὶ αὐτῶν, μάλιστα μὲν ὅτι  
 κακῆνοι περὶ ἡμῶν, ἔπειθ' ὅπως ἂν ὑμεῖς σαφέ-  
 στερον εἰδότες τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν οὕτω διακέησθε

<sup>a</sup> 253-257 are quoted from *Nicocles* 5-9.

<sup>b</sup> The "eristics." Cf. *Epist.* v. 3 ff. See General Introd. p. xxi. In this passage, as well as in *Epist.* v. 3 ff., he may



those who are able to speak before a crowd, we regard as sage those who most skilfully debate their problems in their own minds. And, if there is need to speak in brief summary of this power, we shall find that none of the things which are done with intelligence take place without the help of speech, but that in all our actions as well as in all our thoughts speech is our guide, and is most employed by those who have the most wisdom.<sup>a</sup>

But without reflecting at all on these truths, Lysimachus has dared to attack those who aspire to an accomplishment which is the source of blessings so many and so great. But why should we be surprised at him when even among the professors of disputation<sup>b</sup> there are some who talk no less abusively of the art of speaking on general and useful themes than do the most benighted of men, not that they are ignorant of its power or of the advantage which it quickly gives to those who avail themselves of it, but because they think that by decrying this art they will enhance the standing of their own.

I could, perhaps, say much harsher things of them than they of me, but I refrain for a double reason. I want neither to descend to the level of men whom envy has made blind nor to censure men who, although they do no actual harm to their pupils are less able to benefit them than are other teachers. I shall, however, say a few words about them, first because they also have paid their compliments to me ; second, in order that you, being better informed as to their powers, may estimate us justly in relation

be resenting the criticisms of the Aristotelians. See Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* ii. p. 65.



- 260 πρὸς ἐκάστους ἡμῶν ὥσπερ δίκαιόν ἐστι, πρὸς δὲ  
τούτοις ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσω φανερόν, ὅτι περὶ  
τοὺς πολιτικούς λόγους ἡμεῖς ὄντες, οὓς ἐκείνοί  
φασιν εἶναι φιλαπεχθήμονας, πολὺ πραότεροι τυγ-  
χάνομεν αὐτῶν ὄντες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αἰεί τι περὶ ἡμῶν  
φλαυῆρον λέγουσιν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι τοιοῦ-  
τον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀληθείαις χρήσομαι περὶ αὐτῶν.
- 261 Ἐγοῦμαι γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐριστικοῖς  
λόγοις δυναστεύοντας καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἀστρο-  
λογίαν καὶ τὴν γεωμετρίαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν  
μαθημάτων διατρίβοντας οὐ βλάπτειν ἀλλ' ὠφελεῖν  
τοὺς συνόντας, ἐλάττω μὲν ὧν ὑπισχνοῦνται,
- 262 πλείω δ' ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δοκοῦσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
πλείστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπειλήφασιν ἀδολεσχίαν  
καὶ μικρολογίαν εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν μαθημάτων·  
οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων οὔτ' ἐπὶ τῶν  
κοινῶν εἶναι χρήσιμον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς μνείαις  
οὐδένα χρόνον ἐμμένειν ταῖς τῶν μαθόντων διὰ  
τὸ μήτε τῷ βίῳ παρακολουθεῖν μήτε ταῖς πράξεσιν  
ἐπαμύνειν, ἀλλ' ἔξω παντάπασιν εἶναι τῶν ἀναγ-
- 263 καίων. ἐγὼ δ' οὔθ' οὕτως οὔτε πόρρω τούτων  
ἔγνωκα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οἷ τε νομίζοντες μηδὲν  
χρησίμην εἶναι τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην πρὸς τὰς  
πράξεις ὀρθῶς μοι δοκοῦσι γιννώσκειν, οἷ τ'  
ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτὴν ἀληθῆ λέγειν. διὰ τοῦτο δ'  
οὐχ ὁμολογούμενον αὐτὸν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον εἶρηκα,  
διότι καὶ ταῦτα τὰ μαθήματα τὴν φύσιν οὐδὲν
- 264 ὁμοίαν ἔχει τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς διδασκόμεθα. τὰ μὲν  
γὰρ ἄλλα τότε ὠφελεῖν ἡμᾶς πέφυκεν, ὅταν  
λάβωμεν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς  
μὲν ἀπηκριβωμένους οὐδὲν ἂν εὐεργετήσῃ, πλὴν  
τοὺς ἐντεῦθεν ζῆν προηρημένους, τοὺς δὲ μανθά-



to each other ; and, furthermore, that I may show you clearly that we who are occupied with political discourse and whom they call contentious are more considerate than they ; for although they are always saying disparaging things of me, I shall not answer them in kind but shall confine myself to the simple truth.

For I believe that the teachers who are skilled in disputation and those who are occupied with astronomy and geometry and studies of that sort <sup>a</sup> do not injure but, on the contrary, benefit their pupils, not so much as they profess, but more than others give them credit for. Most men see in such studies nothing but empty talk and hair-splitting ; for none of these disciplines has any useful application either to private or to public affairs ; nay, they are not even remembered for any length of time after they are learned because they do not attend us through life nor do they lend aid in what we do, but are wholly divorced from our necessities. But I am neither of this opinion nor am I far removed from it ; rather it seems to me both that those who hold that this training is of no use in practical life are right and that those who speak in praise of it have truth on their side. If there is a contradiction in this statement, it is because these disciplines are different in their nature from the other studies which make up our education ; for the other branches avail us only after we have gained a knowledge of them, whereas these studies can be of no benefit to us after we have mastered them unless we have elected to make our living from this source, and only help us while

<sup>a</sup> Compare Socrates' views, Xen. *Memorabilia* iv. 7. 2 ff.



νοντας ὀνίνησι· περὶ γὰρ τὴν περιπτολογίαν καὶ  
 τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ γεωμετρίας  
 265 διατρίβοντες, καὶ δυσκαταμαθήτοις πράγμασιν  
 ἀναγκαζόμενοι προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἔτι δὲ συν-  
 εθιζόμενοι λέγειν καὶ πονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις  
 καὶ δεικνυμένοις καὶ μὴ πεπλανημένην ἔχειν τὴν  
 διάνοιαν, ἐν τούτοις γυμνασθέντες καὶ παροξυνθέν-  
 τες ῥᾶον καὶ θάπτον τὰ σπουδαιότερα καὶ πλέονος  
 ἄξια τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ μαρθάνειν  
 266 δύνανται. φιλοσοφίαν μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶμαι δεῖν  
 προσαγορεύειν τὴν μηδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μήτε  
 πρὸς τὸ λέγειν μήτε πρὸς τὸ πράττειν ὠφελοῦσαν,  
 γυμνασίαν μὲντοι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ παρασκευὴν  
 φιλοσοφίας καλῶ τὴν διατριβὴν τὴν τοιαύτην,  
 ἀνδρικωτέραν μὲν ἥς οἱ παῖδες ἐν τοῖς διδα-  
 σκαλείοις ποιοῦνται, τὰ δὲ πλείστα παραπλησίαν·  
 267 καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων οἱ περὶ τὴν γραμματικὴν καὶ τὴν  
 μουσικὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν διαπονηθέντες  
 πρὸς μὲν τὸ βέλτιον εἰπεῖν ἢ βουλευσασθαι περὶ  
 τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδεμίαν πω λαμβάνουσιν ἐπί-  
 δοσιν, αὐτοὶ δ' αὐτῶν εὐμαθέστεροι γίνονται πρὸς  
 τὰ μείζω καὶ σπουδαιότερα τῶν μαθημάτων.  
 268 διατριῆσαι μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς παιδείας ταύτας χρόνον  
 τινὰ συμβουλεύσαιμ' ἂν τοῖς νεωτέροις, μὴ μὲντοι  
 περιδεῖν τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὐτῶν κατασκελετευθεῖσαν  
 ἐπὶ τούτοις, μηδ' ἐξοκείλασαν εἰς τοὺς λόγους  
 τοὺς τῶν παλαιῶν σοφιστῶν, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἄπειρον  
 τὸ πλῆθος ἔφησεν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς  
 δὲ τέτταρα, καὶ νεῖκος καὶ φιλίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, Ἴων  
 δ' οὐ πλείω τριῶν, Ἀλκμαίων δὲ δύο μόνα,

<sup>a</sup> See *Panath.* 26 ; General Introd. p. xxiii.

<sup>b</sup> A broad term including the study of poetry.



we are in the process of learning. For while we are occupied with the subtlety and exactness of astronomy and geometry and are forced to apply our minds to difficult problems, and are, in addition, being habituated to speak and apply ourselves to what is said and shown to us, and not to let our wits go wool-gathering, we gain the power, after being exercised and sharpened on these disciplines, of grasping and learning more easily and more quickly those subjects which are of more importance and of greater value.<sup>a</sup> I do not, however, think it proper to apply the term "philosophy" to a training which is no help to us in the present either in our speech or in our actions, but rather I would call it a gymnastic of the mind and a preparation for philosophy. It is, to be sure, a study more advanced than that which boys in school pursue, but it is for the most part the same sort of thing; for they also when they have laboured through their lessons in grammar, music,<sup>b</sup> and the other branches, are not a whit advanced in their ability to speak and deliberate on affairs, but they have increased their aptitude for mastering greater and more serious studies. I would, therefore, advise young men to spend some time on these disciplines,<sup>c</sup> but not to allow their minds to be dried up by these barren subtleties, nor to be stranded on the speculations of the ancient sophists, who maintain, some of them, that the sum of things is made up of infinite elements; Empedocles that it is made up of four, with strife and love operating among them; Ion, of not more than three; Alcmaeon, of only two; Parmenides

<sup>a</sup> Compare Callicles' similar view about the study of philosophy in Plato, *Gorgias* 484 c.



Παρμενίδης δὲ καὶ Μέλισσος ἓν, Γοργίας δὲ  
 269 παντελῶς οὐδέν. ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ τὰς μὲν τοιαύτας  
 περιττολογίας ὁμοίας εἶναι ταῖς θαυματοποιίαις,  
 ταῖς οὐδέν μὲν ὠφελοῦσαις ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνοήτων  
 περιστάτοις γιγνομέναις, δεῖν δὲ τοὺς προὔργου  
 τι ποιεῖν βουλομένους καὶ τῶν λόγων τοὺς μα-  
 ταίους καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς μηδὲν πρὸς τὸν βίον  
 φερούσας ἀναιρεῖν ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν διατριβῶν.

270 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀπόχρη μοι τὸ νῦν εἶναι  
 ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι καὶ συμβεβουλευκέναι· περὶ δὲ  
 σοφίας καὶ φιλοσοφίας τοῖς μὲν περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν  
 ἀγωνιζομένοις οὐκ ἂν ἀρμόσειε λέγειν περὶ τῶν  
 ὀνομάτων τούτων (ἔστι γὰρ ἀλλότρια πάσαις ταῖς  
 πραγματείαις), ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ κρίνομαι περὶ  
 τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ὑπὸ τινῶν  
 φιλοσοφίαν οὐκ εἶναι φημί, προσήκει τὴν δικαίως  
 ἂν νομιζομένην ὀρίσαι καὶ δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.  
 271 ἀπλῶς δέ πως τυγχάνω γιννώσκων περὶ αὐτῶν.  
 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ φύσει τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων ἐπιστήμην λαβεῖν ἣν ἔχοντες ἂν εἰδεῖμεν ὅ  
 τι πρακτέον ἢ λεκτέον ἐστίν, ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν  
 σοφοὺς μὲν νομίζω τοὺς ταῖς δόξαις ἐπιτυγχάνειν  
 ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ βελτίστου δυναμένους, φιλο-  
 σόφους δὲ τοὺς ἐν τούτοις διατρίβοντας ἐξ ὧν  
 τάχιστα λήψονται τὴν τοιαύτην φρόνησιν.

272 Ἄ δ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ταύτην ἔχοντα  
 τὴν δύναμιν, ἔχω μὲν εἰπεῖν, ὀκνῶ δὲ λέγειν· οὕτω

<sup>a</sup> The fruitlessness of the speculations of the early philo-  
 sophers (physicists) is shown, according to Isocrates, in the  
 utter diversity of their views, for example, regarding the  
 first principles or primary elements from which the world  
 was created. At one extreme was Anaxagoras, who held  
 that the primary elements were infinite in number; at the



and Melissus, of one ; and Gorgias, of none at all.<sup>a</sup> For I think that such curiosities of thought are on a par with jugglers' tricks which, though they do not profit anyone, yet attract great crowds of the empty-minded, and I hold that men who want to do some good in the world must banish utterly from their interests all vain speculations and all activities which have no bearing on our lives.

Now I have spoken and advised you enough on these studies for the present. It remains to tell you about "wisdom" and "philosophy."<sup>b</sup> It is true that if one were pleading a case on any other issue it would be out of place to discuss these words (for they are foreign to all litigation), but it is appropriate for me, since I am being tried on such an issue, and since I hold that what some people call philosophy is not entitled to that name, to define and explain to you what philosophy, properly conceived, really is. My view of this question is, as it happens, very simple. For since it is not in the nature of man to attain a science by the possession of which we can know positively what we should do or what we should say, in the next resort I hold that man to be wise who is able by his powers of conjecture to arrive generally at the best course, and I hold that man to be a philosopher who occupies himself with the studies from which he will most quickly gain that kind of insight.<sup>c</sup>

What the studies are which have this power I can tell you, although I hesitate to do so ; they are so

other was Gorgias, who in his nihilistic philosophy denied that there was any such thing as being or entity at all. Cf. *Hel.* 3 ; *Xen. Memorabilia* i. 1. 14 ff. ; *Plato, Sophist* 242.

<sup>b</sup> See General Introd. pp. xxvi ff.

<sup>c</sup> See 184 and note.



γάρ ἐστι σφόδρα καὶ παράδοξα καὶ πολὺ τῆς τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἀφροσύνη διανοίας, ὥστε φοβοῦμαι μὴ  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντες θορύβου καὶ βοῆς  
 ἅπαν ἐμπλήσῃτε τὸ δικαστήριον. ὅμως δὲ καὶ  
 περ οὕτω διακείμενος ἐπιχειρήσω διαλεχθῆναι  
 περὶ αὐτῶν· αἰσχύνομαι γὰρ εἴ τισι δόξω δεδιῶς  
 ὑπὲρ γήρως καὶ μικροῦ βίου προδιδόναι τὴν  
 273 ἀλήθειαν. δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν μὴ προκαταγνῶναί  
 μου τοιαύτην μανίαν, ὥς ἄρ' ἐγὼ κινδυνεύων  
 προειλόμην ἂν λόγους εἰπεῖν ἐναντίους ταῖς ὑμε-  
 τέραις γνώμαις, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις  
 ἀκολουθούς αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἀπο-  
 δείξεις ἀληθεῖς καὶ σαφεῖς ὥμην ἔχειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.  
 274 Ἐγούμαι δὲ τοιαύτην μὲν τέχνην, ἥτις τοῖς  
 κακῶς πεφυκόσιν ἀρετὴν ἐνεργάσαιτ' ἂν καὶ  
 δικαιοσύνην, οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν οὐδεμίαν  
 εἶναι, τοὺς τε τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ποιουμένους περὶ  
 αὐτῶν πρότερον ἀπερεῖν καὶ παύσεσθαι ληροῦντας,  
 275 πρὶν εὐρεθῆναί τινα παιδείαν τοιαύτην, οὐ μὴν  
 ἄλλ' αὐτοὺς γ' αὐτῶν βελτίους ἂν γίγνεσθαι καὶ  
 πλέονος ἀξίους, εἰ πρὸς τε τὸ λέγειν εὖ φιλοτίμως  
 διατεθεῖεν, καὶ τοῦ πείθειν δύνασθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας  
 ἐρασθεῖεν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τῆς πλεονεξίας  
 ἐπιθυμήσαιεν, μὴ τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνοήτων νομιζο-  
 μένης, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην  
 276 ἐχούσης. καὶ ταῦθ' ὥς οὕτω πέφυκε, ταχέως  
 οἶμαι δηλώσειν.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ λέγειν ἢ γράφειν προαιρού-

• Cf. Plato, *Apology* 38 c.

• Cf. *Against the Sophists* 21; *Theognis* 429 ff.; *Xen Memorabilia* i. 2. 19 ff.; *Plato, Meno* 95 ff.



contrary to popular belief and so very far removed from the opinions of the rest of the world, that I am afraid lest when you first hear them you will fill the whole court-room with your murmurs and your cries. Nevertheless, in spite of my misgivings, I shall attempt to tell you about them; for I blush at the thought that anyone might suspect me of betraying the truth to save my old age and the little of life remaining to me.<sup>a</sup> But, I beg of you, do not, before you have heard me, judge that I could have been so mad as to choose deliberately, when my fate is in your hands, to express to you ideas which are repugnant to your opinions if I had not believed that these ideas follow logically on what I have previously said, and that I could support them with true and convincing proofs.

I consider that the kind of art which can implant honesty and justice in depraved natures has never existed and does not now exist, and that people who profess that power will grow weary and cease from their vain pretensions before such an education is ever found.<sup>b</sup> But I do hold that people can become better and worthier if they conceive an ambition to speak well,<sup>c</sup> if they become possessed of the desire to be able to persuade their hearers, and, finally, if they set their hearts on seizing their advantage—I do not mean “advantage” in the sense given to that word by the empty-minded, but advantage in the true meaning of that term;<sup>d</sup> and that this is so I think I shall presently make clear.

For, in the first place, when anyone elects to speak

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Against the Sophists* 15.

<sup>d</sup> Compare his discussion of true advantage in *Nicocles* 2; *Peace* 28-35.



- μενος λόγους ἀξίους ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ποιήσεται τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀδίκους ἢ μικρὰς ἢ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων, ἀλλὰ μεγάλας καὶ καλὰς καὶ φιλανθρώπους καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων· μὴ γὰρ τοιαύτας εὕρισκων οὐδὲν  
 277 διαπράξεται τῶν δεόντων. ἔπειτα τῶν πράξεων τῶν συντεινουσῶν πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐκλέγεται τὰς πρεπωδεστάτας καὶ μάλιστα συμφερούσας· ὁ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας συνεθιζόμενος θεωρεῖν καὶ δοκιμάζειν οὐ μόνον περὶ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα λόγον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξει ταύτην δύναμιν, ὥσθ' ἅμα τὸ λέγειν εὖ καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν παραγενήσεται τοῖς φιλοσόφως καὶ φιλοτίμως πρὸς τοὺς λόγους διακειμένοις.
- 278 Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ πείθειν τινὰς βουλόμενος ἀμελήσει τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μάλιστα προσέξει τὸν νοῦν, ὅπως δόξαν ὡς ἐπιεικεστάτην λήψεται παρὰ τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀληθεστέρους δοκοῦντας εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ διακειμένων λεγομένους ἢ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν διαβεβλημένων, καὶ τὰς πίστεις μεῖζον δυναμένας τὰς ἐκ τοῦ βίου γεγεννημένας ἢ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πεπορισμένας; ὥσθ' ὅσω ἂν τις ἐρρωμενεστέρως ἐπιθυμῇ πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας, τοσοῦτ' ἂν μάλλον ἀσκήσει καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις εὐδοκιμεῖν.
- 279 Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν οἰέσθω τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας γινώσκειν ὅσῃν ἔχει ῥοπὴν εἰς τὸ πείθειν τὸ τοῖς κρίνουσιν ἀρέσκειν, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντας μόνους ἀγνοεῖν τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας δύναμιν.

<sup>a</sup> See General Introd. p. xxiv.

• Cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1356 a : κυριωτάτη πίστις τὸ ἦθος.



or write discourses which are worthy of praise and honour, it is not conceivable that he will support causes which are unjust or petty or devoted to private quarrels, and not rather those which are great and honourable, devoted to the welfare of man and our common good ; for if he fails to find causes of this character, he will accomplish nothing to the purpose. In the second place, he will select from all the actions of men which bear upon his subject those examples which are the most illustrious and the most edifying ; and, habituating himself to contemplate and appraise such examples, he will feel their influence not only in the preparation of a given discourse but in all the actions of his life.<sup>a</sup> It follows, then, that the power to speak well and think right will reward the man who approaches the art of discourse with love of wisdom and love of honour.

Furthermore, mark you, the man who wishes to persuade people will not be negligent as to the matter of character ; no, on the contrary, he will apply himself above all to establish a most honourable name among his fellow-citizens ; for who does not know that words carry greater conviction when spoken by men of good repute than when spoken by men who live under a cloud, and that the argument which is made by a man's life is of more weight than that which is furnished by words?<sup>b</sup> Therefore, the stronger a man's desire to persuade his hearers, the more zealously will he strive to be honourable and to have the esteem of his fellow-citizens.

And let no one of you suppose that while all other people realize how much the scales of persuasion incline in favour of one who has the approval of his judges, the devotees of philosophy alone are blind



- πολὺ γὰρ ἀκριβέστερον τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ταῦτ' ἴσασι,  
 280 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅτι τὰ μὲν εἰκότα καὶ τὰ τεκμήρια  
 καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶν πίστεων εἶδος τοῦτο μόνον ὠφελεῖ  
 τὸ μέρος, ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν αὐτῶν ἕκαστον τύχῃ ῥηθέν,  
 τὸ δὲ δοκεῖν εἶναι καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν οὐ μόνον τὸν  
 λόγον πιστότερον ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πράξεις  
 τοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην δόξαν ἔχοντος ἐντιμοτέρας  
 κατέστησεν, ὑπὲρ οὗ σπουδαστέον ἐστὶ τοῖς εὖ  
 φρονούσι μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων.
- 281 Τὸ τοίνυν περὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ὃ δυσχερέστατον  
 ἦν τῶν ῥηθέντων· εἰ μὲν τις ὑπολαμβάνει τοὺς  
 ἀποστεροῦντας ἢ παραλογιζομένους ἢ κακὸν τι  
 ποιοῦντας πλεονεκτεῖν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν· οὐδένες  
 γὰρ ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ βίῳ μᾶλλον ἐλαττοῦνται τῶν  
 τοιούτων, οὐδ' ἐν πλέοσιν ἀπορίαις εἰσὶν, οὐδ'  
 ἐπονειδιστότερον ζῶσιν, οὐδ' ὅλως ἀθλιώτεροι
- 282 τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες· χρή δὲ καὶ νῦν πλεόν ἔχειν  
 ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ πλεονεκτῆσαι νομίζειν παρὰ μὲν  
 τῶν θεῶν τοὺς εὐσεβεστάτους καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν  
 θεραπείαν τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπιμελεστάτους ὄντας,  
 παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἄριστα πρὸς τούτους  
 μεθ' ὧν ἂν οἰκῶσι καὶ πολιτεύωνται διακειμένους  
 καὶ τοὺς βελτίστους αὐτοὺς εἶναι δοκοῦντας.
- 283 Καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ  
 συμφέρει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον λέγεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν,  
 ἐπεὶ νῦν γ' οὕτως ἀνέστραπται καὶ συγκέχυται  
 πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τοῖς ὀνό-  
 μασις ἐνιοὶ τινες ἔτι χρῶνται κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. 275.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Peace* 34.



to the power of good will. In fact, they appreciate this even more thoroughly than others, and they know, furthermore, that probabilities and proofs and all forms of persuasion support only the points in a case to which they are severally applied, whereas an honourable reputation not only lends greater persuasiveness to the words of the man who possesses it, but adds greater lustre to his deeds, and is, therefore, more zealously to be sought after by men of intelligence than anything else in the world.

I come now to the question of "advantage" <sup>a</sup>—the most difficult of the points I have raised. If any one is under the impression that people who rob others or falsify accounts or do any evil thing get the advantage, he is wrong in his thinking; for none are at a greater disadvantage throughout their lives than such men; none are found in more difficult straits, none live in greater ignominy; and, in a word, none are more miserable than they. No, you ought to believe rather that those are better off now and will receive the advantage in the future at the hands of the gods <sup>b</sup> who are the most righteous and the most faithful in their devotions, and that those receive the better portion at the hands of men who are the most conscientious in their dealings with their associates, whether in their homes or in public life, and are themselves esteemed as the noblest among their fellows.

This is verily the truth, and it is well for us to adopt this way of speaking on the subject, since, as things now are, Athens has in many respects been plunged into such a state of topsy-turvy and confusion that some of our people no longer use words in their proper meaning but wrest them from the



μεταφέρουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν καλλίστων πραγμάτων  
 284 ἐπὶ τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. τοὺς μὲν  
 γε βωμολοχευομένους καὶ σκώπτειν καὶ μιμεί-  
 σθαι δυναμένους εὐφυεῖς καλοῦσι, προσῆκον τῆς  
 προσηγορίας ταύτης τυγχάνειν τοὺς ἄριστα πρὸς  
 ἀρετὴν πεφυκότας· τοὺς δὲ ταῖς κακοηθείαις καὶ  
 ταῖς κακουργίαις χρωμένους, καὶ μικρὰ μὲν  
 λαμβάνοντας πονηρὰν δὲ δόξαν κτωμένους, πλεον-  
 εκτεῖν νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς ὀσιωτάτους καὶ  
 δικαιοτάτους, οἳ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀλλ' οὐ<sup>1</sup> τῶν  
 285 κακῶν πλεονεκτοῦσι· τοὺς δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀναγκαίων  
 ἀμελοῦντας, τὰς δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν σοφιστῶν τερατο-  
 λογίας ἀγαπῶντας φιλοσοφεῖν φασιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα μαθάνοντας καὶ μελετῶντας ἐξ ὧν  
 καὶ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τὰ τῆς πόλεως  
 καλῶς διοικήσουσιν, ὧν περ ἔνεκα καὶ πονητέον  
 καὶ φιλοσοφητέον καὶ πάντα πρακτέον ἐστίν.

Ἄφ' ὧν ὑμεῖς πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἀπελαύνετε  
 τοὺς νεωτέρους, ἀποδεχόμενοι τοὺς λόγους τῶν  
 286 διαβαλλόντων τὴν τοιαύτην παιδείαν. καὶ γάρ  
 τοι πεποιήκατε τοὺς μὲν ἐπιεικεστάτους αὐτῶν  
 ἐν πότοις καὶ συνουσίαις καὶ ῥαθυμίαις καὶ  
 παιδιαῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν διάγειν, ἀμελήσαντας τοῦ  
 σπουδάζειν ὅπως ἔσονται βελτίους, τοὺς δὲ χείρω  
 τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντας ἐν τοιαύταις ἀκολασίαις ἡμε-  
 ρεύειν, ἐν αἷς πρότερον οὐδ' ἂν οἰκέτης ἐπιεικῆς  
 287 οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν· οἳ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς  
 Ἐννεακρούνου ψύχουσιν οἶνον, οἳ δ' ἐν τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' οὐ Blass : ἀμελήσαντες Θ.

<sup>a</sup> Reminiscent of Thuc. iii. 82 ff.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Areop. 49.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Areop. 50.

<sup>d</sup> A famous spring near the Acropolis, first called Callir-



most honourable associations and apply them to the basest pursuits.<sup>a</sup> On the one hand, they speak of men who play the buffoon and have a talent for mocking and mimicking as “gifted”<sup>b</sup>—an appellation which should be reserved for men endowed with the highest excellence; while, on the other hand, they think of men who indulge their depraved and criminal instincts and who for small gains acquire a base reputation as “getting the advantage,” instead of applying this term to the most righteous and the most upright, that is, to men who take advantage of the good and not the evil things of life. They characterize men who ignore our practical needs and delight in the mental juggling of the ancient sophists as “students of philosophy,” but refuse this name to those who pursue and practise those studies which will enable us to govern wisely both our own households and the commonwealth—which should be the objects of our toil, of our study, and of our every act.

It is from these pursuits that you have for a long time now been driving away our youth,<sup>c</sup> because you accept the words of those who denounce this kind of education. Yes, and you have brought it about that the most promising of our young men are wasting their youth in drinking-bouts, in parties, in soft living and childish folly, to the neglect of all efforts to improve themselves; while those of grosser nature are engaged from morning until night in extremes of dissipation which in former days an honest slave would have despised. You see some of them chilling their wine at the “Nine-fountains”<sup>d</sup>; others, drink-

rhoe (Fair-flowing). Later, when enclosed and adorned by Pisistratus, it was called the Fountain of Nine Spouts. See Thuc. ii. 15; Gardner, *Ancient Athens* p. 18.



καπηλείοις πίνουσιν, ἕτεροι δ' ἐν τοῖς σκιραφείοις  
κυβεύουσι, πολλοὶ δ' ἐν τοῖς τῶν αὐλητρίδων  
διδασκαλείοις διατρίβουσι.

Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ταῦτα προτρέποντας οὐδεὶς  
πώποτε τῶν κήδεσθαι φασκόντων τῆς ἡλικίας  
ταύτης εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσήγαγεν· ἡμῖν δὲ κακὰ παρ-  
έχουσιν, οἷς ἄξιον ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου, τούτου  
γε χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι τοὺς συνόντας τῶν τοιούτων  
ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀποτρέπομεν.

- 288 Οὕτω δ' ἐστὶ δυσμενὲς ἅπασιν τὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν  
γένος, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν λυομένοις εἴκοσι καὶ τριά-  
κοντα μνῶν τὰς μελλούσας καὶ τὸν ἄλλον οἶκον  
συναναιρήσειν οὐχ ὅπως ἂν ἐπιπλήξειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
συγχαίρουσι ταῖς ἀσωτίαις αὐτῶν, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὴν  
αὐτῶν παιδείαν ὀτιοῦν ἀναλίσκοντας διαφθείρεσθαι  
φασιν. ὧν τίνες ἂν ἀδικώτερον ἔχοιεν τὴν αἰτίαν  
289 ταύτην; οἵτινες ἐν ταύταις μὲν ταῖς ἀκμαῖς ὄντες  
ὑπερεῖδον τὰς ἡδονάς, ἐν αἷς οἱ πλείστοι τῶν  
τηλικούτων μάλιστ' αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἐξὸν δ'  
αὐτοῖς ῥαθυμεῖν μηδὲν δαπανωμένοις εἵλοντο  
πνεεῖν χρήματα τελέσαντες, ἄρτι δ' ἐκ παίδων  
ἐξεληλυθότες ἔγνωσαν ἃ πολλοὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων  
290 οὐκ ἴσασιν, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ὀρθῶς καὶ πρεπόντως  
προεστῶτα τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ καλὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ βίου  
ποιούμενον αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ ποιή-  
σασθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ μὴ σπεύδειν μηδὲ  
ζητεῖν ἐτέρων ἄρχειν πρὶν ἂν τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας  
λάβῃ τὸν ἐπιστατήσοντα, μηδ' οὕτω χαίρειν μηδὲ

<sup>a</sup> The ransom of slaves captured in war. Isocrates is probably thinking of some notorious case.

<sup>b</sup> The mina = 100 drachmas. A drachma was the standard wage of a day-labourer.



ing in taverns ; others, tossing dice in gambling dens ; and many, hanging about the training-schools of the flute-girls.

And as for those who encourage them in these things, no one of those who profess to be concerned for our youth has ever haled them before you for trial, but instead they persecute me, who, whatever else I may deserve, do at any rate deserve thanks for this, that I discourage such habits in my pupils.

But so inimical to all the world is this race of sycophants that when men pay a ransom <sup>a</sup> of a hundred and thirty minae <sup>b</sup> for women who bid fair to help them make away with the rest of their property besides, so far from reproaching them, they actually rejoice in their extravagance ; but when men spend any amount, however small, upon their education, they complain that they are being corrupted. Could any charge be more unjust than this against our students ? For, while in the prime of vigour, when most men of their age are most inclined to indulge their passions, they have disdained a life of pleasure ; when they might have saved expense and lived softly, they have elected to pay out money and submit to toil ; and, though hardly emerged from boyhood, they have come to appreciate what most of their elders do not know, namely, that if one is to govern his youth rightly and worthily and make the proper start in life, he must give more heed to himself than to his possessions, he must not hasten and seek to rule over others <sup>c</sup> before he has found a master to direct his own thoughts, and he must not take as great pleasure or pride in other advantages

• *Cf. To Nicocles* 29 ; *Plato, Gorgias* 491.



μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς ὥς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ τὴν παιδείαν ἐγγιγνομένοις. καί τοι τοὺς τοιούτῳ λογισμῷ κεχρημένους πῶς οὐκ ἐπαινέεισθαι χρὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ψέγεσθαι, καὶ νομίζεσθαι βελτίστους εἶναι καὶ σωφρονεστάτους τῶν ἡλικιω-  
τῶν;

- 291 Θαυμάζω δ' ὅσοι τοὺς μὲν φύσει δεινοὺς ὄντας εἰπεῖν εὐδαιμονίζουσιν ὥς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ καλοῦ πράγματος αὐτοῖς συμβεβηκότος, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους γενέσθαι βουλομένους λοιδοροῦσιν ὥς ἀδίκου καὶ κακοῦ παιδεύματος ἐπιθυμοῦντας. καί τοι τί τῶν φύσει καλῶν ὄντων μελέτῃ κατεργασθὲν αἰσχρὸν ἢ κακόν ἐστιν; οὐδὲν γὰρ εὐρήσομεν τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἐν γε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς ταῖς φιλοπονίαις ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀγαθόν τι κτήσασθαι δυνηθέντας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν προγόνων  
292 παραλαβόντας, εἰκότως· συμφέρει γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων, μὴ τὰς εὐτυχίας ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιμελείας εὐδοκιμεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φύσει καὶ τύχῃ δεινοὶ γενομένοι λέγειν οὐ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ἀποβλέπουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν τύχωσιν, οὕτω χρῆσθαι τοῖς λόγοις εἰώθασιν· οἱ δὲ φιλοσοφία καὶ λογισμῷ τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην λαβόντες, οὐδὲν ἀσκέπτως λέγοντες, ἥττον περὶ τὰς πράξεις πλημμελοῦσιν.

- 293 Ὡσθ' ἅπασι μὲν βούλεσθαι προσήκει πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ παιδείας δεινοὺς εἰπεῖν γιγνομένους, μάλιστα δ' ὑμῖν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ προέχετε καὶ διαφέρετε τῶν ἄλλων οὐ ταῖς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείαις, οὐδ' ὅτι κάλλιστα πολιτεύεσθε καὶ μάλιστα φυλάττετε τοὺς νόμους οὓς ὑμῖν οἱ



as in the good things which spring up in the soul under a liberal education. I ask you, then, when young men have governed themselves by these principles, ought they not to be praised rather than censured, ought they not to be recognized as the best and the most sober-minded among their fellows?

I marvel at men who felicitate those who are eloquent by nature on being blessed with a noble gift, and yet rail at those who wish to become eloquent, on the ground that they desire an immoral and debasing education. Pray, what that is noble by nature becomes shameful and base when one attains it by effort? We shall find that there is no such thing, but that, on the contrary, we praise, at least in other fields, those who by their own devoted toil are able to acquire some good thing more than we praise those who inherit it from their ancestors. And rightly so; for it is well that in all activities, and most of all in the art of speaking, credit is won, not by gifts of fortune, but by efforts of study. For men who have been gifted with eloquence by nature and by fortune, are governed in what they say by chance, and not by any standard of what is best, whereas those who have gained this power by the study of philosophy and by the exercise of reason never speak without weighing their words, and so are less often in error as to a course of action.

Therefore, it behoves all men to want to have many of their youth engaged in training to become speakers, and you Athenians most of all. For you, yourselves, are pre-eminent and superior to the rest of the world, not in your application to the business of war, nor because you govern yourselves more excellently or preserve the laws handed down to you



πρόγονοι κατέλιπον, ἀλλὰ τούτοις οἷς περ ἡ φύσις  
 ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, καὶ τὸ γένος  
 294 τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν βαρβάρων, τῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν  
 φρόνησιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἄμεινον πεπαι-  
 δεῦσθαι τῶν ἄλλων. ὥστε πάντων ἂν συμβαίῃ  
 δεινότατον, εἰ τοὺς βουλομένους τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
 τούτοις διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν, οἷς περ ὑμεῖς  
 ἀπάντων, διαφθείρεσθαι ψηφίσαισθε, καὶ τοὺς τῇ  
 παιδείᾳ ταύτῃ χρωμένους, ἧς ὑμεῖς ἡγεμόνες  
 γεγέννησθε, συμφορᾷ τινι περιβάλοιτε.

295 Χρὴ γὰρ μηδὲ τοῦτο λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι πάντων  
 τῶν δυναμένων λέγειν ἢ παιδεύειν ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν  
 δοκεῖ γεγενῆσθαι διδάσκαλος. εἰκότως· καὶ γὰρ  
 ἄθλα μέγιστα τιθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ὁρῶσι τοῖς τὴν  
 δύναμιν ταύτην ἔχουσι, καὶ γυμνάσια πλείστα καὶ  
 παντοδαπώτατα παρέχουσιν τοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι προ-  
 ηρημένοις καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα<sup>1</sup> γυμνάζεσθαι  
 296 βουλομένοις, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, ἣ περ μάλιστα  
 ποιεῖ δύνασθαι λέγειν, ἐνθένδε πάντας λαμβάνοντας·  
 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν τῆς φωνῆς κοινότητα καὶ  
 μετριότητα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐτραπेलίαν καὶ φιλο-  
 λογίαν οὐ μικρὸν ἡγοῦνται συμβαλέσθαι μέρος  
 πρὸς τὴν τῶν λόγων παιδείαν· ὥστ' οὐκ ἀδίκως  
 ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἅπαντας τοὺς λέγειν ὄντας δεινοὺς  
 τῆς πόλεως εἶναι μαθητάς.

297 Σκοπεῖτ' οὖν μὴ παντάπασιν ἢ καταγέλαστον

<sup>1</sup> τὰ τοιαῦτα Havet: τὰς τοιαύτας MSS.

• Cf. Nicocles 6.

• Cf. Plato, *Apology* 29 D.

• Cf. *Paneg.* 48 ff. See Havet's enthusiastic comment in Cartelier's *Antidosis* p. lviii. Cf. also Thuc. ii. 41; vii. 62.

<sup>a</sup> The Attic "dialect" was the least provincial of all, avoiding the extreme harshness of the Doric and the softness



by your ancestors more faithfully than others, but in those qualities by which the nature of man rises above the other animals,<sup>a</sup> and the race of the Hellenes above the barbarians, namely, in the fact that you have been educated as have been no other people in wisdom and in speech.<sup>b</sup> So, then, nothing more absurd could happen than for you to declare by your votes that students who desire to excel their companions in those very qualities in which you excel mankind, are being corrupted, and to visit any misfortune upon them for availing themselves of an education in which you have become the leaders of the world.

For you must not lose sight of the fact that Athens is looked upon as having become a school<sup>c</sup> for the education of all able orators and teachers of oratory. And naturally so ; for people observe that she holds forth the greatest prizes for those who have this ability, that she offers the greatest number and variety of fields of exercise to those who have chosen to enter contests of this character and want to train for them, and that, furthermore, everyone obtains here that practical experience which more than any other thing imparts ability to speak ; and, in addition to these advantages, they consider that the catholicity and moderation of our speech,<sup>d</sup> as well as our flexibility of mind and love of letters, contribute in no small degree to the education of the orator. Therefore they suppose, and not without just reason, that all clever speakers are the disciples of Athens.

Beware, then, lest it make you utterly ridiculous of the Ionic, and tended to be more and more the language of cultivated Greeks, until in the time of Alexander the Great it had broadened into the "common dialect," ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος.



τῆς δόξης ταύτης φλαυρόν τι καταγιγνώσκειν, ἣν  
 ὑμεῖς ἔχετε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ  
 ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ φανερώς ὑμῶν  
 αὐτῶν ἔσεσθε κατεψηφισμένοι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀ-  
 298 δικίαν, καὶ πεποιηκότες ὅμοιον ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι τοὺς τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκοῦντας  
 ζημιοῦν ἐπιχειροῖεν, ἢ Θετταλοὶ παρὰ τῶν ἵππεύειν  
 μελετώντων δίκην λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῖεν. ὑπὲρ ὧν  
 φυλακτέον ἐστίν, ὅπως μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐξαμαρ-  
 τήσεσθε περὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, μηδὲ πιστοτέρους  
 ποιήσετε τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τῶν κατηγορούντων  
 τῆς πόλεως ἢ τοὺς τῶν ἐπαινούντων.

299 Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ  
 μὲν δυσκόλως πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχουσιν, οἱ δ' ὡς οἰόντε  
 μάλιστα φιλοῦσι καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας  
 ἐν ὑμῖν ἔχουσι. καὶ φασιν οἱ μὲν τοιοῦτοι μόνην  
 εἶναι ταύτην πόλιν, τὰς δ' ἄλλας κώμας, καὶ  
 δικαίως ἂν αὐτὴν ἄστυ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προσαγο-  
 ρεύεσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας  
 τὰς ἐνθένδε τοῖς ἄλλοις γιγνομένας καὶ μάλιστα  
 300 διὰ τὸν τρόπον τῶν ἐνοικούντων· οὐδένας γὰρ  
 εἶναι πραοτέρους οὐδὲ κοινοτέρους οὐδ' οἷς οἰκειό-  
 τερον ἂν τις τὸν ἅπαντα βίον συνδιατρίψειεν.  
 οὕτω δὲ μεγάλαις χρῶνται ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, ὥστ'  
 οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ὀκνοῦσι λέγειν, ὡς ἥδιον ἂν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς  
 Ἀθηναίου ζημιωθείεν ἢ διὰ τῆς ἐτέρων ὀμότητος  
 εὖ πάθοιεν.

Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν διασύρουσι, διεξιόντες δὲ τὰς  
 τῶν συκοφαντῶν πικρότητας καὶ κακοπραγίας  
 ὅλης τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἀμίκτου καὶ χαλεπῆς οὔσης  
 κατηγοροῦσιν.

• The best cavalrymen in Greece.



to pronounce a disparaging judgement upon the reputation which you have among the Hellenes even more than I have among you. Manifestly, by such an unjust verdict, you would be passing sentence upon yourselves. It would be as if the Lacedaemonians were to attempt to penalize men for training themselves in preparation for war, or as if the Thessalians<sup>a</sup> saw fit to punish men for practising the art of horsemanship. Take care, therefore, not to do yourselves this wrong and not to lend support to the slanders of the enemies of Athens rather than to the eulogies of her friends.

I think that you are not unaware that while some of the Hellenes are hostile to you, some are extremely friendly, and rest their hopes of security upon you. These say that Athens is the only city, the others being mere villages, and that she deserves to be termed the capital of Hellas both because of her size and because of the resources which she furnishes to the rest of the world, and most of all because of the character of her inhabitants; for no people, they insist, are more kindly or more sociable,<sup>b</sup> nor could anyone find any people with whom he could spend all his days in friendlier intercourse. Indeed, so extravagant are they in their praise that they do not even hesitate to say that they would rather suffer injury at the hands of an Athenian gentleman than benefit through the rudeness of people from another city.<sup>c</sup>

There are, on the other hand, those who scoff at this praise, and, dwelling upon the cruel and iniquitous practices of the sycophants, denounce the whole city as savage and insupportable.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Paneg.* 41.

<sup>b</sup> The Spartans.



- 301 Ἔστιν οὖν δικαστῶν νοῦν ἔχόντων τοὺς μὲν τῶν  
 τοιούτων λόγων αἰτίους γιγνομένους ἀποκτείνειν  
 ὥς μεγάλην αἰσχύνην τῇ πόλει περιποιοῦντας,  
 τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἐπαίνων τῶν λεγομένων περὶ αὐτῆς  
 μέρος τι συμβαλλομένους τιμᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς  
 ἀθλητὰς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι νικῶντας·  
 πολὺ γὰρ καλλίω δόξαν ἐκείνων κτώμενοι τῇ  
 302 πόλει τυγχάνουσι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀρμόττουσαν. περὶ  
 μὲν γὰρ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀγωνίαν πολλοὺς τοὺς  
 ἀμφισβητοῦντας ἔχομεν, περὶ δὲ τὴν παιδείαν  
 ἅπαντες ἂν ἡμᾶς πρωτεύειν προκρίνειαν. χρὴ δὲ  
 τοὺς καὶ μικρὰ<sup>1</sup> λογίζεσθαι δυναμένους τοὺς ἐν  
 τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἔργων διαφέροντας, ἐν οἷς ἡ  
 πόλις εὐδοκιμεῖ, τιμῶντας φαίνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ  
 φθονερῶς ἔχειν, μηδ' ἐναντία τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι  
 γιγνώσκειν περὶ αὐτῶν.
- 303 Ὡν ὑμῖν οὐδὲν πώποτ' ἐμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον  
 διημαρτήκατε τοῦ συμφέροντος, ὥσθ' ἥδιον ἔχετε  
 δι' οὓς ἀκούετε κακῶς ἢ δι' οὓς ἐπαινέεισθε, καὶ  
 δημοτικωτέρους εἶναι νομίζετε τοὺς τοῦ μισεῖσθαι  
 τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ πολλῶν αἰτίους ὄντας, ἢ τοὺς  
 ἅπαντας οἷς πεπλησιάκασιν εὖ διακεῖσθαι πρὸς  
 αὐτὴν πεποιηκότας.
- 304 Ἦν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τῆς μὲν ταραχῆς παύσεσθε  
 ταύτης, οὐχ οὕτω δ' ὥσπερ νῦν οἱ μὲν τραχέως οἱ  
 δ' ὀλιγώρως διακεῖσεσθε πρὸς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπολαβόντες κάλλιστον εἶναι καὶ σπουδαιό-  
 τατον τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπι-  
 μέλειαν, προτρέψετε τῶν νεωτέρων τοὺς βίον ἱκα-  
 νὸν κεκτημένους καὶ σχολὴν ἄγειν δυναμένους ἐπὶ  
 305 τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τὴν ἀσκησιν τὴν τοιαύτην, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς καὶ μικρὰ Baiter: τοὺς μικρὰ mss.



It is, therefore, the duty of intelligent judges to destroy those who heap infamy upon the city and to reward those who are responsible in some degree for the tributes paid to her, more than you reward the athletes who are crowned in the great games, seeing that they win for the city a greater and more fitting glory than any athlete;<sup>a</sup> for in contests of the body we have many rivals; but in the training of the mind everyone would concede that we stand first. And men with even a slight ability to reason ought to show the world that they reward those who excel in those activities for which the city is renowned, and they ought not to envy them nor hold an opinion of them which is the opposite of the esteem in which they are held by the rest of the Hellenes.

But you have never troubled yourselves to do this; nay, you have so far mistaken your true interests that you are more pleased with those who cause you to be reviled than with those who cause you to be praised, and you think that those who have made many people hate the city are better friends of the demos than those who have inspired good will toward Athens in all with whom they have had to deal.

If, however, you are wise, you will put an end to this confusion, and you will not continue, as now, to take either a hostile or a contemptuous view of philosophy; on the contrary, you will conceive that the cultivation of the mind is the noblest and worthiest of pursuits and you will urge our young men who have sufficient means and who are able to take the time for it to embrace an education and a training of this sort. And when

<sup>a</sup> See *Paneg.* 1; Plato, *Apology* 36 D.



τοὺς μὲν πονεῖν. ἐθέλοντας καὶ παρασκευάζειν  
 σφᾶς αὐτοὺς χρησίμους τῇ πόλει περὶ πολλοῦ  
 ποιήσεσθε, τοὺς δὲ καταβεβλημένως ζῶντας καὶ  
 μηδενὸς ἄλλου φροντίζοντας πλὴν ὅπως ἀσελγῶς  
 ἀπολαύσονται τῶν καταλειφθέντων, τούτους δὲ  
 μισήσετε καὶ προδότας νομιεῖτε καὶ τῆς πόλεως  
 καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης· μόλις γὰρ ἦν οὕτως  
 ὑμᾶς αἰσθωνται πρὸς ἐκατέρους αὐτῶν διακειμέ-  
 νους, ἐθελήσουσιν οἱ νεώτεροι καταφρονήσαντες  
 τῆς ῥαθυμίας προσέχειν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ  
 φιλοσοφίᾳ τὸν νοῦν.

- 306 Ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν  
 ἔργων τῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις πεπραγ-  
 μένων, καὶ διέλθετε πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ σκέ-  
 ψασθε ποῖός τις ἦν καὶ πῶς γεγονώς καὶ τίνα  
 τρόπον πεπαιδευμένος ὁ τοὺς τυράννους ἐκβαλὼν  
 καὶ τὸν δῆμον καταγαγὼν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν  
 καταστήσας, ποῖος δέ τις ὁ τοὺς βαρβάρους  
 Μαραθῶνι τῇ μάχῃ νικήσας καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐκ  
 307 ταύτης γενομένην τῇ πόλει κτησάμενος, τίς δ' ἦν  
 ὁ μετ' ἐκείνον τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐλευθερώσας καὶ  
 τοὺς προγόνους ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν δυνα-  
 στείαν ἦν ἔσχον προαγαγών, ἔτι δὲ τὴν φύσιν τὴν  
 τοῦ Πειραιέως κατιδὼν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀκόντων  
 Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ πόλει περιβαλὼν, τίς δὲ ὁ  
 μετὰ τοῦτον ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου τὴν ἀκρόπολιν  
 ἐμπλήσας καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ἰδίους μεστοὺς  
 308 πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ πλούτου ποιήσας· εὐρήσετε

• Cleisthenes.

• Miltiades.

• At the close of the Persian Wars, the Athenians returned to their city and, under the leadership of Themistocles against the protest of the Lacedaemonians, built strong



they are willing to work hard and to prepare themselves to be of service to the city, you will make much of them ; but when they give themselves to loose living and care for nothing else than to enjoy riotously what their fathers left to them, you will despise them and look upon them as false to the city and to the good name of their ancestors. For it will be hard enough, even though you show such an attitude of mind in either case, to get our youth to look down upon a life of ease and be willing to give their minds to their own improvement and to philosophy.

But reflect upon the glory and the greatness of the deeds wrought by our city and our ancestors, review them in your minds and consider what kind of man was he, what was his birth and what the character of his education, who expelled the tyrants, brought the people into their own, and established our democratic state ; <sup>a</sup> what sort was he who conquered the barbarians in the battle at Marathon and won for the city the glory which has come to Athens from this victory ; <sup>b</sup> what was he who after him liberated the Hellenes and led our forefathers forth to the leadership and power which they achieved, and who, besides, appreciating the natural advantage of the Piraeus, girded the city with walls in despite of the Lacedaemonians ; <sup>c</sup> and what manner of man was he who after him filled the Acropolis with gold and silver and made the homes of the Athenians to overflow with prosperity and wealth : <sup>d</sup> for you will find if you review the career walls around Athens and around the harbour-town, the Piraeus. Later these two walled towns were connected by the building of the "long walls."

<sup>a</sup> Pericles. See 232-234, where all these, except Miltiades, are eulogized by name.



γάρ, ἣν ἐξετάζητε τούτων ἕκαστον, οὐ τοὺς συκοφαντικῶς βεβιωκότας οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀμελῶς, οὐδὲ τοὺς τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁμοίους ὄντας, ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς διαφέροντας καὶ προέχοντας μὴ μόνον ταῖς εὐγενείαις καὶ ταῖς δόξαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν, τούτους ἀπάντων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους γεγεννημένους.

309 Ὡν εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνθυμουμένους ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ πλήθους τοῦτο σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἔν τε τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων τῶν δικαίων τεύξονται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κοινῶν μεθέξουσι, τοὺς δ' ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ ταῖς μελέταις, καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους γενέσθαι προθυμουμένους, ἀγαπᾶν καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ θεραπεύειν, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι καὶ τὸ καλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἡγήσασθαι πραγμάτων καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων σώζειν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν διαφυλάττειν ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἔνεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς συκοφάνταις.

310 Πολλῶν δ' ἐφεστώτων μοι λόγων ἀπορῶ πῶς  
[343] αὐτοὺς διαθῶμαι· δοκεῖ γάρ μοι καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν ἕκαστον ὦν διανοοῦμαι ῥηθὲν ἐπιεικὲς ἂν φανῆναι, πάντα δὲ νυνὶ λεγόμενα πολὺν ἂν ὄχλον ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσι παρασχεῖν. ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἤδη προειρημένων δέδοικα, μὴ τοιοῦτόν τι πάθος

311 αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πλήθος τυγχάνη συμβεβηκός. οὕτω γὰρ ἀπλήστως ἅπαντες ἔχομεν περὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὥστ' ἐπαινοῦμεν μὲν τὴν εὐκαιρίαν καὶ φαμέν οὐδὲν εἶναι τοιοῦτον, ἐπειδὰν δ' οἰηθῶμεν ὥς ἔχομέν τι λέγειν, ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ μετριάζειν, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀεὶ προστιθέντες εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας



of each of these, that it was not those who lived unscrupulously or negligently nor those who did not stand out from the multitude who accomplished these things, but that it was men who were superior and pre-eminent, not only in birth and reputation, but in wisdom and eloquence, who have been the authors of all our blessings.

You ought to lay this lesson to heart and, while seeing to it in behalf of the mass of the people that they shall obtain their just rights in the trials of their personal disputes and that they shall have their due share of the other privileges which are common to all, you ought, on the other hand, to welcome and honour and cherish those who stand out from the multitude both in ability and in training and those who aspire to such eminence, since you know that leadership in great and noble enterprises, and the power to keep the city safe from danger and to preserve the rule of the people, rests with such men, and not with the sycophants.

Many ideas crowd into my thoughts, but I do not know how I can make place for them ; for it seems to me that while every point which I have in mind would appeal to you if I presented it by itself, yet if I attempted to discuss them all at this time, I should put too great a strain both upon myself and upon my hearers. Indeed I fear that in what I have already said to you I may have fatigued you by speaking at such length. For we are all so insatiable in discourse that while we prize due measure and affirm that there is nothing so precious, yet when we think that we have something of importance to say, we throw moderation to the winds, and go on adding point after point until little by little we involve our-



ἀκαιρίας ἐμβάλλομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτούς· ὅπου γε καὶ  
 λέγων ἐγὼ ταῦτα καὶ γινώσκων, ὅμως ἔτι  
 312 βούλομαι διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἀγανακτῶ γὰρ  
 [344] ὁρῶν τὴν συκοφαντίαν ἄμεινον τῆς φιλοσοφίας  
 φερομένην, καὶ τὴν μὲν κατηγοροῦσαν, τὴν δὲ  
 κρινομένην. ὃ τίς ἂν τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν γε-  
 νήσεσθαι προσεδόκησεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν  
 313 τοῖς ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ μείζον τῶν ἄλλων φρονοῦσιν;  
 οὐκ οὐν ἐπὶ γε τῶν προγόνων οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ  
 τοὺς μὲν καλουμένους σοφιστὰς ἐθαύμαζον καὶ  
 τοὺς συνόντας αὐτοῖς ἐζήλουν, τοὺς δὲ συκοφάντας  
 πλείστων κακῶν αἰτίους ἐνόμιζον εἶναι.

Μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον· Σόλωνα μὲν γάρ, τὸν  
 πρῶτον τῶν πολιτῶν λαβόντα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν  
 ταύτην, προστάτην ἡξίωσαν τῆς πόλεως εἶναι,  
 περὶ δὲ τῶν συκοφαντῶν χαλεπωτέρους ἢ περὶ  
 314 τῶν ἄλλων κακουργιῶν τοὺς νόμους ἔθεσαν. τοῖς  
 μὲν γὰρ μεγίστοις τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐν ἐνὶ τῶν  
 δικαστηρίων τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησαν, κατὰ δὲ τούτων  
 γραφὰς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας, εἰσαγγελίας δ'  
 εἰς τὴν βουλήν, προβολὰς δ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, νομίζον-  
 τες τοὺς ταύτῃ τῇ τέχνῃ χρωμένους ἀπάσας ὑπερ-  
 βάλλειν τὰς πονηρίας. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἀλλ'  
 315 οὐν πειρᾶσθαι γε λανθάνειν κακουργοῦντας, τού-  
 τους δ' ἐν ἅπασιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν ὁμότητα  
 καὶ μισανθρωπίαν καὶ φιλαπεχθημοσύνην.

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\* For example, a charge of deliberate murder could come only before the Court of the Areopagus. A charge against the sycophants, on the other hand, could be brought before the Thesmothetae (see 237, note), who prepared the case for trial before a Heliastic Court, in which case the charge was termed *γραφή* (indictment); or before the Senate of  
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selves in utter irrelevancies. Why, at the very moment that I say this and recognize its truth, I desire, nevertheless, to speak to you at greater length! For I am grieved to see the sycophant's trade faring better than philosophy—the one attacking, the other on the defensive. Who of the men of old could have anticipated that things would come to this pass, in Athens, of all places, where we more than others plume ourselves on our wisdom? Things were not like that in the time of our ancestors; on the contrary, they admired the sophists, as they called them, and envied the good fortune of their disciples, while they blamed the sycophants for most of their ills.

You will find the strongest proof of this in the fact that they saw fit to put Solon, who was the first of the Athenians to receive the title of sophist, at the head of the state, while they applied to the sycophants more stringent laws than to other criminals; for, while they placed the trial of the greatest crimes in the hands of a single one of the courts,<sup>a</sup> against the sycophants they instituted indictments before the Thesmothetae, impeachments before the Senate, and complaints before the General Assembly, believing that those who plied this trade exceeded all other forms of villainy; for other criminals, at any rate, try to keep their evil-doing under cover, while these flaunt their brutality, their misanthropy, and their contentiousness before the eyes of all.

the Five Hundred, in which case the charge was called *εἰσαγγελία* (impeachment); or before the General Assembly, in which case the charge was termed *προβολή* (plaint). See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* pp. 176 ff. This was, however, true of so many crimes that the point of Isocrates is rather rhetorical.



Κακῆῖνοι μὲν οὕτως ἐγίγνωσκον περὶ αὐτῶν·  
 ὑμεῖς δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέχετε τοῦ κολάζειν αὐτούς,  
 ὥστε τούτοις χρήσθε καὶ κατηγοροῖς καὶ νομο-  
 θέταις περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. καί τοι προσῆκεν αὐτοὺς  
 νῦν μισεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον.  
 316 τότε μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μόνον καὶ τοῖς  
 κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔβλαπτον τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους·  
 ἐπειδὴ δ' αὐξηθείσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ λαβούσης  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, μᾶλλον θαρρήσαντες  
 τοῦ συμφέροντος, τοῖς μὲν καλοῖς καγαθοῖς τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν καὶ μεγάλην τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασι διὰ τὰς  
 δυναστείας ἐφθόνησαν, πονηρῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων  
 317 καὶ μεστῶν θρασύτητος ἐπεθύμησαν, οἰηθέντες  
 ταῖς μὲν τόλμαις καὶ ταῖς φιλαπεχθημοσύναις  
 ἱκανοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι διαφυλάττειν τὴν δημο-  
 κρατίαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν φαυλότητα τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 αὐτοῖς ὑπαρξάντων οὐ μέγα φρονήσειν οὐδ'  
 ἐπιθυμήσειν ἐτέρας πολιτείας.

Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μεταβολῆς τί τῶν δεινῶν οὐ  
 συνέπεσε τῇ πόλει, τί δὲ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν  
 [345] οἱ ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν φύσιν οὐ καὶ λέγοντες καὶ  
 318 πράττοντες διετέλεσαν; οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἐνδοξοτάτους  
 τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μάλιστα δυναμένους ποιῆσαί τι  
 τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθόν, ὀλιγαρχίαν ὀνειδίζοντες καὶ

<sup>a</sup> The term sycophant is applied here as elsewhere in Isocrates and the other orators to demagogic politicians.

<sup>b</sup> From the time of the "reforms" of Ephialtes (see *Areop.* 50: τοῖς ὀλίγῳ πρὸς ἡμῶν), and especially after the death of Pericles. Aristotle (*Const. of Athens* 28) states: "So long, however, as Pericles was leader of the people, things went tolerably well with the State; but when he was dead there was a great change for the worse. Then for the first time did the people choose a leader who was of no reputation among the people of good standing, whereas



That was the way our ancestors felt about them. But you, so far from punishing the sycophants,<sup>a</sup> actually set them up as accusers and legislators for the rest of the people. And yet there is reason for detesting them now more than at that time; for then it was only in matters of ordinary routine and in affairs confined to the city that they damaged their countrymen. In the meantime, however, the city waxed powerful and seized the empire of the Hellenes, when our fathers,<sup>b</sup> growing more self-assured than was meet for them, began to look with disfavour on those good men and true who had made Athens great, envying them their power, and to crave instead men who were base-born and full of insolence, thinking that by their bravado and contentiousness they would be able to preserve the rule of the people,<sup>c</sup> while because of the meanness of their origin they would not become overweening nor ambitious<sup>d</sup> to overturn the constitution.

And since this change has taken place, what calamity has not been visited upon the city? What great misfortunes have these depraved natures failed to bring to pass through their speech and through their actions? Have they not taunted the most illustrious of the Athenians—the men who were the best able to benefit the city—with oligarchical and

up to this time men of good standing were always found as leaders of the democracy" (Kenyon's translation). Aristotle goes on to say that Pericles was followed by such leaders as Cleon, the tanner—insolent demagogues who vied with each other in pandering to the mob.

<sup>c</sup> That is, vigilance exercised by loud-mouthed demagogues is the price of liberty.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Dem. *Περὶ συντάξεως* 173: ἔστι δ' οὐδέποτ', οἶμαι, δυνατόν μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα πράττοντας μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν.



- λακωνισμόν, οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν ἡνάγκασαν ὁμοίους γενέσθαι ταῖς αἰτίαις ταῖς λεγομέναις περὶ αὐτῶν; τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους λυμαινόμενοι καὶ συκοφαντοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς βελτίστους ἐκ τῶν ὄντων ἐκβάλλοντες, οὕτω διέθεσαν ὥσθ' ἡμῶν μὲν ἀποστήναι, τῆς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων  
 319 ἐρασθῆναι φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας; ἐξ ὧν εἰς πόλεμον καταστάντες πολλοὺς ἐπείδομεν τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς μὲν τελευτήσαντας, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενομένους, τοὺς δ' εἰς ἔνδειαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καταστάντας, ἔτι δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν δις καταλυθεῖσαν καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πατρίδος κατασκαφέντα, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅλην τὴν πόλιν περὶ ἀνδραποδισμού κινδυνεύσασαν καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τοὺς πολεμίους οἰκήσαντας.
- 320 Ἄλλὰ γὰρ αἰσθάνομαι, καίπερ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς βία φερόμενος, τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ ἡμᾶς ἐπιλείπον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐμπεπτωκὼς εἰς λόγους ἡμερησίους καὶ κατηγορίας. ὑπερβὰς οὖν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συμφορῶν τῶν διὰ τούτους γεγενημένων, καὶ διωσάμενος τὸν ὄχλον τῶν ἐνόντων εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς τούτων συκοφαντίας, μικρῶν ἔτι πάνυ μνησθεὶς ἤδη καταλύσω τὸν λόγον.

<sup>a</sup> The Athenian democracy since the days of Cleisthenes lived in continual fear of revolution. There remained a strong oligarchical party, supported by Sparta, and it was always easy to catch the ear of the Athenian demos by accusing anyone of oligarchical or Spartan sympathies. Cf. *Peace* 133.

<sup>b</sup> Is he thinking particularly of Alcibiades?

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Panath.* 13 and 142.

<sup>d</sup> The Peloponnesian War.

<sup>e</sup> First by the oligarchy of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C., secondly by the oligarchy of the Thirty Tyrants in 404 B.C., after the downfall of the Athenian Empire.



Lacedaemonian sympathies,<sup>a</sup> and never ceased until they have driven them to become in fact what they were charged with being? <sup>b</sup> Have they not by ill-treating our allies, by lodging false complaints against them,<sup>c</sup> by stripping the best of them of their possessions—have they not so disaffected them that they have revolted against us and craved the friendship and alliance of the Lacedaemonians? And with what results? We have been plunged into war<sup>d</sup>; we have seen many of our fellow-countrymen suffer, some of them dying in battle, some made prisoners of war, and others reduced to the last extremities of want; we have seen the democracy twice overthrown,<sup>e</sup> the walls which defended our country torn down<sup>f</sup>; and, worst of all, we have seen the whole city in peril of being enslaved,<sup>g</sup> and our enemy encamped on the Acropolis.<sup>h</sup>

But I perceive, even though my feelings carry me away, that the water in the clock<sup>i</sup> is giving out, while I myself have fallen into thoughts and recriminations which would exhaust the day. Therefore, I pass over the multitude of calamities which these men have brought upon us; I thrust aside the throng of offences which we might charge to their infamy, and content myself with just one word before I close.

<sup>f</sup> One of the terms of peace at the end of the war was that the "long walls" connecting Athens with the Piraeus should be torn down.

<sup>g</sup> After her surrender to Sparta and the allies of Sparta at the close of the Peloponnesian War. See *Areop.* 6 and note; *Xen. Hell.* ii. 2. 19-20. Cf. *Peace* 78, 105; *Plataicus* 23.

<sup>h</sup> A Spartan garrison occupied the Acropolis during the reign of the Thirty.

<sup>i</sup> The clepsydra or water-clock, which marked the time allowed to each speaker.



- 321 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους ὁρῶ τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας, ἐπειδὰν περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ὥσι τῆς ἀπολογίας, ἱκετεύοντας, δεομένους, τοὺς παῖδας, τοὺς φίλους ἀναβιβαζομένους· ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε πρέπειν οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι τῶν τοιούτων τοῖς τηλικούτοις, πρὸς τε τῷ ταῦτα γινώσκειν, αἰσχυνθείην ἂν, εἰ δι' ἄλλο τι σωζοίμην ἢ διὰ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς προειρημένους. οἶδα γὰρ ἑμαυτὸν οὕτως ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως κεχρημένον αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τοὺς προγόνους καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς θεούς, ὥστε, εἴ τι μέλει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων αὐτοῖς πραγ-
- 322 μάτων, οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν περὶ ἐμὲ γιγνομένων οὐδὲν  
[346] αὐτοὺς οἶμαι λανθάνειν. διόπερ οὐκ ὀρρωδῶ τὸ μέλλον συμβῆσθαι παρ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ θαρρῶ καὶ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω τότε μοι τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτὴν ἡξεῖν, ὅταν μέλλῃ συνοίσειν ἡμῖν, σημείῳ χρώμενος ὅτι καὶ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον οὕτω τυγχάνω βεβιωκὼς μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, ὥς περ προσήκει τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ θεοφιλεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
- 323 Ὡς οὖν ἐμοῦ ταύτην ἔχοντος τὴν γνώμην, καὶ νομίζοντος ὅ τι ἂν ὑμῖν δόξῃ, τοῦθ' ἔξειν μοι καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως, ὅπως ἕκαστος ὑμῶν χαίρει καὶ βούλεται, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον φερέτω τὴν ψῆφον.



I observe that when others who are placed in jeopardy here come to the end of their defence, they supplicate, they implore, they bring their children and their friends before the jury.<sup>a</sup> I, however, consider that such expedients are unbecoming to one of my age ; and, apart from this feeling, I should be ashamed to owe my life to any other plea than to the words which you have just heard. For I know that I have spoken with so just and clear a conscience both towards the city and our ancestors, and above all towards the gods, that if it be true that the gods concern themselves at all with human affairs I am sure that they are not indifferent to my present situation. Wherefore, I have no fear of what may come to me at your hands ; nay, I am of good courage and have every confidence that when I close my life it will be when it is best for me ; for I take it as a good sign that all my past life up to this day has been such as is the due of righteous and god-fearing men.

Being assured, therefore, that I am of this mind, and that I believe that whatever you decide will be for my good and to my advantage, let each one cast his vote as he pleases and is inclined.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> These pathetic scenes were a stock device in the court room—ridiculed by Aristophanes in the *Wasps*. Cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1354 a. Isocrates here echoes Plato, *Apology* 34 c.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Plato's *Apology* 35 d.